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Above, a piece of the Soviet Cosmos 954 satellite that fell to earth in the Canadian wilderness; see page 5. **Left**, Miners wait in the longest miners' strike in history; see page 3.

THE INSIDE STORY

Guest column by Gwenda Linda Blair

Kurt Groenewold: Democracy on trial in West Germany

Lawyers for unpopular causes have sometimes earned a certain admiration. Kurt Groenewold has made a practice of defending the unpopular, but the main thing that this has earned him in presentday West Germany is a criminal indictment for conspiring with his clients.

Combined with recent reports of Neo-Nazi revivals, a growing following for rightwinger Franz Josef Strauss, and vendettas against a wide range of leftwing intellectuals, Groenewold's case casts doubts on the future of democracy in West Germany.

Gwenda Blair, formerly an editor of Liberation and Seven Days, interviewed Groenewold when he was in New York City last December.

Q: What is your background as a lawyer?

I've been involved in civil rights cases for the last ten years, defending people involved in student movements and demonstrations against the Vietnam war, the Springer publishing company and the extradition of Arab students in 1972 after the deaths of the Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games. I've also handled many other cases, including copyright cases, and I am the representative of the exiled East German singer Wolf Biermann and others.

What is the specific charge against you?

I'm charged with conspiracy, which means having supported a conspiracy group which consisted of my clients, and I face a sentence of six months to five years, plus potential disbarment. It's the first time I've been on trial, and the first time the German government has tried to use conspiracy laws to limit legal defense work. Basically, it's an attempt to abolish the concept of a fair trial, especially in unpopular cases.

In the indictment I am accused of supporting the hunger strike of my clients in the winter of 1974-75 by circulating information among them about the public reaction and the situation of other prisoners. Secondly, it is charged that through an information network, "the politics and the group identity of the defendants as urban guerillas, their fighting spirit, their orientation towards the aims of the groups, and their feeling of solidarity remained unbroken." In other words, I'm charged with something that is not illegal—hampering the governments attempt to break my clients' will. It's very surprising that the government admitted that's what it was trying to do.

The "evidence" includes such facts as that I was a divorce counsel for Ulrike Meinhof some years ago and that the prisoners made me an administrator in their last will. As to the other lawyers, the government claimed that one used the same language as his clients and another called his clients "comrade."

In January 1975, additions to the Code of Criminal Procedure barred the use of a common defense in criminal trials. How has this affected you?

The common defense strategy is traditional for political trials all over the world. It has always been necessary for political prisoners to make a common defense in order to explain their policy. It was the case for Russian anarchists, for Liebknecht in the last century, for Fidel Castro when he was on trial.

The basic aim of the government now is to exclude political motivations from trials, and all the actions against lawyers and their clients are only instruments to this end. I think there were two reasons for these measures: first, the defendants explained their policies in terms of the Vietnam war and the relationship between the United States and Germany, and the government wanted to exclude this discussion from an open trial; second, the government had enough evidence to charge conspiracy, but it carries a sentence of only five years. The government wanted these people in prison

This edition (Vol. 2, No. 13) published Feb. 15, 1978, for newsstand sales Feb. 15-21, 1978.

for life, and the defense lawyers were in the way.

A thousand lawyers needed.

What exactly happened to the lawyers?

Eventually the government eliminated all six of the original lawyers on the defense team. Three of us were removed shortly before the opening of the trial, for which we had prepared for three years. They searched all our offices and they charged not only the lawyers with conspiracy with clients, but also my partners, my secretary, and the cleaning woman.

Two of the lawyers, Klaus Croissant and Hans-Christian Stroebele, were imprisoned briefly. They didn't put me in jail, but I was disbarred on the grounds of "unprofessional behavior." Croissant left Germany because he was still the target of propaganda and asked for asylum in France. Last fall he was brought back to Germany. At that time, the government started a new type of propaganda, saying that he was involved in illegal activities that occurred outside the prison. The French said there was not enough evidence and they couldn't accept these charges.

Then why was Croissant extradited?

There was an old warrant out for him on charges similar to those against me. Then the government produced a second warrant, saying that he was involved with aiding and abetting the kidnapping of the industrialist Hans Martin Schleyer because some of the people now underground had been close to his office. One or two had even worked there for a time. The government said that he must be responsible for what these people did after leaving his office.

Are these court cases aimed only at weakening legal defense possibilities for terrorists?

I think the actions and the harassment of the lawyers is an attack on the ability of defendants to defend themselves, initially in the terrorist cases, but it will also affect other cases, such as anti-nuclear demonstrations. If a thousand people are arrested at a demonstration, they will now need a thousand lawyers, and the left doesn't have them.

To destroy the group defense, several instruments have been introduced. The first is the exclusion of lawyers who are too close to their clients. Second, a lawyer can represent only one client in a case, defined by the government as including all the persons having to do with one group or one demonstration. As a result, a lawyer can defend only one member of a group even if there are separate trials on separate charges and years apart.

A harassment program.

What do you think of the new regulations limiting the amount of money that can be withdrawn from banks, supposedly to discourage ransom payments?

This is one of a number of measures the government adopted to create a harassing climate. Terrorist activities are not on a higher level in Germany than in Italy and Great Britain, but government reaction in Germany is. You see, Germany has a very strong tradition of state power, but not of human rights.

In 1949 Germany adopted a new constitution, the Basic Law, which protects the rights of defendants in a very good way. In 1956 we also adopted the European Convention on Human Rights, which contains the concept of a fair trial and the right of every defendant to a proper defense. Constitutional principles in Germany are very good, but the way the government and

the judicial system interpret them is so reactionary that their use of the constitution is sometimes a crime.

One example of harassment is the policy of *berufsverbot*, or job-ban. This loyalty program was begun in 1972 to exclude people from the civil service who were part of the student movement or Communists or fighting against the Vietnam war or against prison conditions. That is a very dangerous development, not only because over 3,000 people couldn't work for the civil service, but also because more than 700,000 persons were investigated and controlled by the German FBI, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution. They have to restrict their opinions, to be careful. It's not only a reaction to terrorism—it's an instrument to control the opinions of a large segment of German society.

There is also very close control when you cross a border. Your passport is checked and all facts are collected in a computer. Likewise if you go to a demonstration, sign a petition—all these things are not illegal, but we have a harassment program like you had under the FBI. You can find all these proposals in the Huston plan, under Nixon.

Do these anti-terrorist measures have wide popular support.

When the *berufsverbot* program began in 1972 it was limited mainly to members of the traditional Communist party and there was little protest because of our long tradition of anti-Communism. Now there is a growing resistance and pressure from other European countries. The former leader of the Social Democratic government, Willy Brandt, says *berufsverbot* is a mistake, but it has not been changed. Then when *Kontaktsperre*, the law which limits prisoners' communication rights, was introduced, there was resistance within the Social Democratic party and 14 of the members of Parliament refused to accept it. Even the press, which is usually very loyal to the German government, was critical.

Support in U.S.

What reaction have you received in the U.S. to the situation in Germany and to your case?

Committees against *berufsverbot* and the lawyers involved in the case have gotten a great deal of information to the press and to the international legal community. As a result, the German government is under heavy pressure for depriving citizens of their civil rights.

In connection with my case, a number of legal organizations have decided to send observers, including the French and Italian judges, and lawyers' groups like the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Movement d'Action Judiciaire, the British Haldane Society, and the American National Lawyers Guild. We are also attempting to introduce experts from other countries, lawyers who have experiences in similar cases who could testify. In addition, a group of lawyers including Ramsey Clark is writing an *amicus* letter to the court and Amnesty International is sending an observer. The 1977 Amnesty International Report listed West Germany among the countries that restrict human rights, particularly as regards prison conditions, defendants' ability to defend themselves, and harassment of lawyers.

The government is accusing you of helping your clients too much. What is your opinion of your clients' activities and of urban guerilla warfare?

I never supported their policy. It's not my opinion that their policy is right, but it is also not the task of a defense counsel to give an opinion about the activities of clients. It is my job to defend the ability of my clients to explain their own policies and motivations, not to play the role of the state attorney. ■

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except for the fourth week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc. 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Illinois.

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Miner agreement not likely

By Dan Marshall

FACED WITH DWINDLING COAL stockpiles and possible power blackouts in the Midwest, negotiators for the United Mine Workers and the coal industry reached a tentative settlement Feb. 6 to end the nationwide strike that has become the longest in UMW history. Within hours, however, the new three-year pact ran into ratification problems.

As *IN THESE TIMES* went to press the union's 39-member bargaining council, which must approve a settlement before it is submitted to the full membership for ratification, had decided to delay a vote until they could examine the contract's precise language. Sources report that if a vote had been taken, the settlement definitely would have been defeated.

Some council members are balking at stringent contract penalties against miners who engage in wildcat strikes. "People in my district would hang me if I ever ratified something like that," one council member exclaimed. "I won't buy it."

An earlier bargaining council meeting was postponed, the *New York Times* reported, because it "was seen on all sides as potentially volatile and disruptive." Jack Perry, District 17 director, and other council members are reportedly enraged that UMW president Arnold Miller has kept them in the dark during the talks. They were prepared to reject parts of the agreement before it was even completed.

Up and down on "labor stability."

The talks have gone up and down during the last three months as union negotiators alternately accepted and rejected the industry's "labor stability package," the main issue of controversy. In mid-December, for example, Miller and the UMW bargaining team agreed to the companies' proposal to fine wildcatting miners \$22 per day to compensate for lost revenues to the pension and health funds. When word of this arrangement filtered back to the coal fields, however, local and district officials warned Miller that members would turn down a contract with this provision. Union negotiators then withdrew their "conceptual understanding" and the talks collapsed.

Because the tentative settlement includes a modified version of this penalty clause along with other disciplinary measures, approval by the bargaining council and by rank and filers is very doubtful.

A union-authorized telephone poll, conducted in early January, indicated that about 48 percent of UMW members oppose any "payback" scheme. With a 16-page summary of the tentative agreement circulating through the coal fields, sources describe the miners' reaction as "furious."

During the eight-hour bargaining council session, Miller urged acceptance of what he called an "excellent agreement." He added that "it is by far the best agreement negotiated in any major industry in the past two years."

But this description is accurate, at best, only in terms of economic gains. Over three years, Miller claims, the package represents an increase of nearly 37 percent in wages and fringe benefits, higher than last year's auto and steel contracts. The settlement does not contain a cost of living allowance, so the wage hikes will be lessened by inflation.

Disincentive to strike.

To act as a "disincentive" to wildcat strikes the contract would empower employers to suspend or discharge miners who "cause or engage in unauthorized work stoppages." Since this clause applies not only to miners initiating a walk-out but also to those who refuse to cross picket lines, it runs counter to a century-long mineworkers tradition. If this provision were followed to the letter, mine operators would periodically fire their entire work force. For this reason some companies reportedly find it extreme and ultimately unworkable.



Doug Varrow

The "labor stability package" also requires striking miners to reimburse the union's health and pension funds \$20 a day for up to ten days. (The funds' finances, which are based on coal production and man-hours worked, are severely jeopardized by wildcat strikes, coal companies complain.) After ten days, the funds' trustees would be authorized to rescind miners' health benefits as an additional pressure.

Some council members reportedly view this package as far too harsh. "There was a lot of bickering about the concept," commented one member. "There's an awful lot of us who simply don't like it."

If approved, these provisions would greatly restrict the ability of miners to wildcat, the only method for rank and filers to resist company violations of the contract and usually hostile arbitrator decisions, according to local union sources. Under the previous agreement, coal operators routinely refused to settle grievances at the mine site, instead pushing them up the ladder to arbitration, a process that can take years. Over 6,000 grievances flooded the Arbitration Review Board in the last three years. (*ITT*, Dec. 21, 1977)

"In November 1975 a joint industry-union hearing revealed, as every miner knows, that most wildcats are caused by deliberate company provocation, company refusals to settle grievances at the mine sites, frequent resorting to arbitration and the courts, harassment of grievance committeemen by threats and layoffs, and safety discrimination by which miners who complain about unsafe conditions are assigned undesirable work," argued Steve Shapiro, president of a West Virginia UMW local, in a recent *New York Times* column.

Tough absentee program.

Another stickler in the contract is a tough absentee program. The UMW has reportedly agreed to a program that would allow progressively stiffer disciplinary measures for excessive absenteeism. Over a four-month period, six unexcused absences would be cause for firing.

Union bargainers view these provisions as a trade-off for one of their key demands—a restoration of health benefits that were cut last July. The Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) has agreed to "guarantee" health and pension benefits by taking over complete administration of the funds, a concept management has long advocated. Under the previous contract the funds are jointly administered by union and management representatives. Companies were obligated only to provide specified contributions, calculated according to coal production.

Early in the negotiations the union abandoned its demand for the local right to strike in exchange for the industry dropping a proposal for a no-strike provision.

If a stability clause is in the contract, "the operators have little need for a no-strike provision," comments *Business Week*, "and so the BCOA has not surrendered very much." The absence of a right to strike clause, which has weak support among rank and filers, is not expected to be a major impediment to ratification.

The companies also won provisions that may enhance their scheduling flexibility and improve productivity. These include "incentive productivity plans" and the right to produce and process coal seven days a week. Mine operators now can only operate six-day weeks. Employers would also be able to unilaterally change work-

ers' starting times after giving the union 30 days notice.

In recent weeks the weather has become an additional factor in the negotiations. About 50 percent of the country's electricity is derived from coal-generating plants. The strike, in which UMW members have also shut down non-union operations in several states, has cut the nation's coal output by 64 percent. As successive blizzards pound the Midwest and North Atlantic states, utilities are draining their coal stockpiles faster than anticipated. In addition freezing temperatures have solidified many piles of stored coal and delayed transportation of coal from non-union mines.

The situation is most serious in those states that use high amounts of Appalachian coal: Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Maryland. The city of Columbus, Ohio, for instance, has already turned off street lights for 500 miles of streets. Utilities in Ohio and nearby states will soon call for voluntary cutbacks in electricity use of 25 percent. Within a month electric brownouts and the closing of schools and factories could idle 500,000 Ohio workers, warns the head of the Public Utilities Commission.

By March an official of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission foresees mandatory cutbacks spreading to utilities in seven states.

The worsening coal situation probably strengthens the UMW's bargaining clout. At an emergency conference on electric power, held at the Department of Energy Feb. 1, participants voiced support for a strike settlement on almost any terms. "I urge the administration to call upon the electric utilities to call upon the coal mine owners to be a little more amenable," declared a New Jersey representative. ■

Council members are balking at stringent penalties against miners who engage in wildcat strikes.

"People in my district would hang me if I ever ratified something like that," one council member exclaimed. "I won't buy it."

IN THE NATION

University won't sell stock

By John Fleming

CHICAGO

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO trustees have firmly refused, after three months of steady debate on campus, to change, or even re-examine, their investment policy in regard to corporations that do business in South Africa. That policy, they say, is "to earn as much money for the university as possible." In fact, according to one trustee, the university "has a duty to invest in South Africa if it means a higher rate of return."

The trustees, who govern a largely white school that stands like a Gothic fortress in the middle of Chicago's black ghetto, also have refused to consider a petition signed by over 1,500 students asking the university to sell its holdings in companies active in South Africa. The trustees dismissed the petition and the ongoing campus debate as "much ado about nothing."

The resistance of the trustees to the protest is no surprise. Twenty-three of the University of Chicago's 55 trustees are directors of corporations with operations in South Africa; ten trustees direct banks that make loans to the South African government.

A close relationship also exists between the university and Continental Illinois Corporation, a banking firm with strong South African connections. (Continental has made loans to South Africa's government steel agency, ISCOR, for the construction of steel mills and furnaces, and the bank also sells the South African Kruggerand, a gold coin.)

The university holds \$2.4 million in Continental stock; it's also a major depositor of the bank. Six of Continental's 20 board members are university trustees. In a classic example of interlocking directorships Continental chairman Roger Anderson is a university trustee, and university chairman Robert Reneker is a Continental director.

The university now owns securities in 31 American companies active in South Africa. Its investments in those companies are valued at \$65 million and represent approximately 25 percent of the market value of all the university's stock holdings. The university investments in corporations that do business in South Africa include shares in Exxon (\$7.1 million), IBM (\$6.7 million), General Motors (\$5.1 million), General Electric (\$2.5 million) and Motorola (\$1.5 million).

Controversy over the role of American business in South Africa has forced other college and university trustees to change their investment policies, but so far only one university with large holdings has decided to sell any stock. The Oregon state board of higher education voted last year to sell the investments of its eight universities in companies that have substantial South African business.

Smith College recently sold shares of stock worth \$687,000 in Firestone Tire and Rubber Company because college trustees were dissatisfied with answers from Firestone about the company's South African activity. The University of Massachusetts last fall sold its South African investments for about \$620,000. And the trustees of Hampshire College, under student and faculty pressure, sold all of the institution's common stock—about \$200,000 worth—until guidelines for "ethical investments" could be worked out.

University of Minnesota regents last year agreed to begin supporting resolutions submitted to shareholders' meetings



Army

Priorities Coalition blasts Carter's budget requests

By John Markoff and Chris Paine

WASHINGTON

REP. PARREN MITCHELL (D-MD) and a coalition of more than 20 public interest, labor and religious organizations sharply attacked President Carter's Fiscal Year 1979 budget request and announced a major new effort to "save our communities and reorder our national priorities" in a press conference here Jan. 31.

"The FY '79 military budget seems to indicate that the administration has decided to continue the trend toward real growth in defense spending begun during the Ford administration," Mitchell said.

"This trend is particularly unfortunate in light of the vast unmet domestic needs that demand our attention. If we are to respond in a reasonable fashion to the problems of unemployment, the decay of our cities, and the special needs of youth, minorities and the aged, we must go beyond the President's budget and adequately fund domestic initiatives aimed at these problems." Mitchell is chairman of the Task Force on Human Resources of the House Budget committee.

Endorsing the efforts of the Priorities Coalition, Mitchell said, "President Carter has prepared his budget. Now it's Congress' turn. I think we have to re-examine the priorities reflected in the budget if we are able to address in a serious way

the problems facing the American people today."

Representatives from the Urban League, Americans for Democratic Action and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy criticized Carter for "standing still or cutting back on badly needed social programs while allowing substantial real growth in military spending."

Bob Brammer, a spokesman for the Coalition, said in an interview that the Priorities groups will focus on organizing around a Transfer amendment that will be introduced in Congress and a "Save Our Communities Week" scheduled for March 26. The Transfer amendment, if passed by Congress, would take \$12 billion out of the defense budget and spend it instead on economic conversion, rural housing, health care and support for farmers, who have been hard hit by the new Carter budget.

The Carter administration is asking for \$128.4 billion for national defense (including both the Defense department's request and the amount used for military-related activities of the Energy Research and Development Administration). This represents a 3.4 percent real growth increase over last year.

Non-defense spending for fiscal year 1979 is projected to increase by \$28 billion under the proposed Carter budget—a real increase of less than 2 percent. ■

John Markoff and Chris Paine are reporters specializing in military affairs.

urging corporations with South African business to sign the "Sullivan statement" against racial discrimination in employment. The Sullivan statement, named for a General Motors director, requires corporations to provide nonsegregation in their South African plants, equal pay and fair employment practices, and professional training for non-whites.

The University of Wisconsin board of regents recently voted to sell its holdings in corporations that have at least 250 employees in South Africa and have not endorsed the Sullivan statement. Less than 60 American corporations have signed the Sullivan statement.

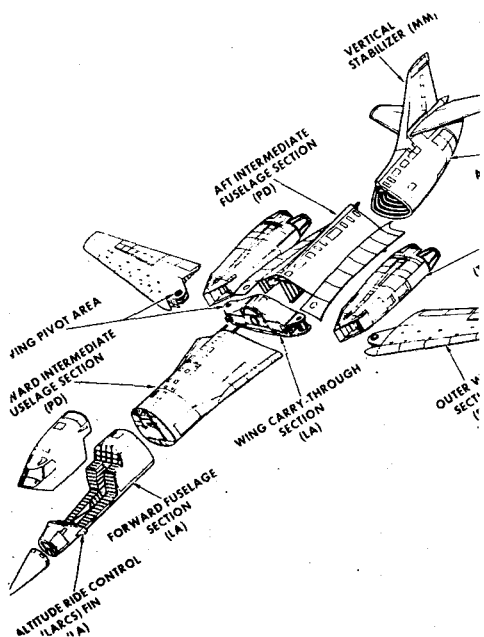
Trustees of Stanford University, however, rejected proposals to avoid investment in companies with South African ties last year on the basis of a cost-benefit study conducted by the school's develop-

ment office that identified at least 318 American companies doing business in South Africa. These companies include all the major corporations in six industries—automotive, chemical, electrical, office equipment, oil and gas, and drugs. One hundred-eleven of the corporations active in South Africa represent about half the market value of common stocks in Standard and Poor's list of 500 stocks, according to the study.

If Stanford trustees were to approve divestiture, the study said, "The securities eliminated would be those which our investment managers believe are the best to hold for investment purposes." Divestiture also could be expected to reduce the gifts to Stanford from the corporations involved, or gifts from others in the form of stock in these corporations, the study said.

The study concluded that divestiture and the predicted reduction in the value of Stanford's investments would raise questions about the university's legal obligation as a charitable trust to manage its funds responsibly. Stanford's trustees did adopt a new policy that established an advisory committee to investigate corporate activity that causes "substantial social injury," but so far the university has sold none of its investments worth \$125 million in 59 American companies with South African business. ■

John Fleming is a free-lance writer in Chicago.



Senate finally kills B-1

By John Markoff and Chris Paine

WASHINGTON

THE B-1 BOMBER LOST ANOTHER one of its nine lives Feb. 1 when the Senate voted 58-37 against spending \$462 million for construction for two more prototypes.

President Carter scrapped the B-1 program last summer in favor of the development of the unmanned Cruise missile, which can be launched in great numbers from ships, planes and the ground and has a range comparable to the B-1.

Since Carter's announcement of the B-1 cancellation, however, B-1 opponents have had to fight a rear-guard battle against congressional and industry supporters who contend that at least two more planes are needed to keep production lines open and for research and development purposes. Supporters also argue that keeping the production lines open would put the U.S. in a stronger position in the Strategic Arms Limitation talks.

The Senate defeat for the B-1 now means that the House must vote again on whether or not to fund two more planes. The vote, which will take place later this month is expected to be close and Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill (D-MA) has apparently decided not to let the vote come up until he is sure that the B-1 can be defeated. The House voted in December 191-166 to fund two extra B-1s.

Carter administration opposition to the B-1 program has led to an ironic situation in which Department of Defense officials are working hand in hand with anti-B-1 bomber lobbyists.

B-1 opponents who once had absolutely no friendly contact with the Pentagon now report that they are working with the military on a daily basis developing strategy to stop the bomber.

The Defense department recently reported that there are currently 800 people employed on B-1 production programs. If ended, employment would be reduced to about 25 individuals in FY 1979. If two more planes are produced, employment at Rockwell International will rise to 4,800 direct employees in FY 1979. ■

SPACE SATELLITES

Nuclear disaster barely avoided

Had the Soviet nuclear satellite crashed into a populated area the consequences could have been devastating. The U.S. and Soviets kept quiet, however, hoping that luck would be with them... It was.

By Ernest Sternglass

WHILE THE JAN. 24 CRASH of Cosmos 954 unleashed international shockwaves, it brought sighs of relief to the Pentagon scientists who had tracked the flawed satellite since the Soviets launched it Sept. 18.

The fear that had obsessed the American skywatcher was simple: what would happen if the nuclear-powered satellite smashed into Chicago, Denver or Los Angeles? Although it was loaded with some 100 pounds of highly enriched uranium, there was no certainty that the on-board reactor's failsafe design would prevent it from exploding on impact as an atomic bomb.

Explosions aside, the consequences could still have been devastating had the reactor not disintegrated in the atmosphere. Intense gamma radiation from such fission products as Cesium 137 could have produced lethal doses within hours. Air, water and farming areas would have been contaminated with Iodine 131, Strontium 89 and Strontium 90 released from the broken reactor.

Depending on meteorological conditions and based on the sharp increases in leukemia and cancer rates all over Japan following the detonation of two bombs in 1945, cancer rates could have jumped between 100 and 1000 percent with comparable increases in infant mortality, birth defects and other chronic diseases in the immediate area.

Massive population evacuations and the sealing of food and water supplies would have been the only possible counter-measures. The long-term consequences from the release of such uranium products could well have led to as many as tens of thousands of deaths from lung cancer and other causes—approaching the numbers calculated in the original Brookhaven study of the effects of a possible nuclear power plant accident near New York City.

Because the potential for a major disaster was too frightening for public discussion and because it might help to turn the people of the world against all forms of nuclear energy, both the American government and the Soviets decided to keep the story quiet. If neither an explosion nor widespread human contamination occurred, they gambled, public hysteria and alarm could be avoided and the whole matter passed over lightly.

Outright deceptions.

That is exactly what happened. Fortunately, the satellite re-entered the atmosphere over a sparsely populated area of the world. Fortunately, it did not survive re-entry in a compact form that might have led to a nuclear explosion upon impact. And fortunately, it appears to have largely vaporized, allowing only some small fraction of the highly radioactive debris to contaminate the ground.

Thus, a spokesman for the Soviet government was able to reassure the public a few days after the crash: "Soviet and American designers build spacecraft in such a way as to avoid disaster under any circumstances," adding that "complete safety was a basic law for all those who build nuclear devices."



"DID WE ORDER A STOVE?"

Yet we now know that these statements were outright deceptions and that the claim of "complete safety" was false. The latest site measurements have revealed that sizeable quantities of radioactive debris did in fact reach the ground over an area hundreds of miles long.

Statements by spokesmen from both nations implied that so long as the reactor "burned up" in the atmosphere, it would disappear and present no hazard. In fact, as the uranium and fission products did vaporize into the atmosphere they were transformed into the finely divided form of insoluble oxides, well known to be the most hazardous chemical form for the production of lung cancer.

Neither did the Soviet government spokesman ever mention Strontium 90, the most important of all the fission products created during the operation of this marvel of nuclear engineering.

Neither the Soviets nor the American government spokesmen ever mentioned the fact that the total amount of biologically serious radioactivity released in the satellite crash to the world's air, water, food and milk equals that of the detonation of about ten modern atomic weapons.

Nor has any of them mentioned that animal studies at the University of Rochester carried out over a period of nearly ten years showed that even the less toxic

natural uranium, when released as fine oxide dust, was found to induce a startlingly high number of lung cancers seven to ten years after very low concentrations of this material were inhaled by dogs.

Fortunately for all government leaders, lung cancers, congenital defects and rises in other chronic diseases many years later cannot be readily traced to a given "nuclear ingredient." For nearly a generation, the governments of the world have been able to deceive their own people as to the true nature of the biological hazards in the name of national security.

Convinced of the absolute necessity of nuclear weapons, nuclear submarine re-

Continued on page 18.

Anti-satellite programs in full swing

By John Markoff

WHEN ENERGY SECRETARY James Schlesinger told a congressional committee in late January that there was little the U.S. could do about nuclear-powered Soviet spy satellites like Cosmos 954, he contended, "We have no way, I think, of effectively monitoring what may be aboard these vehicles."

The U.S. has for some time been desperately trying to learn how—as part of an arcane intelligence war being fought in space by Soviet and American spy agencies.

"Secret-sentry" satellites like Cosmos 954—which supply military intelligence gleaned from high-powered cameras, radar, infrared sensors and radio "ferrets"—have become potential targets of anti-satellite development projects carried out by both American and Soviet scientists.

Last March President Carter became the first American leader to publicly discuss the possibility of a space war. Carter told a White House press conference he had suggested to the Soviet Union that "we forego the opportunity to arm satellite bodies and also forego the opportunity to destroy observation satellites."

Carter's concern is based on the fact that both America and the Soviet Union have advanced anti-satellite warfare programs in the works. The Soviet program is so far advanced that two years ago they were able to blind an American spy satellite—at least temporarily—by "illuminating" it five times with a powerful laser beam.

American and Russian spy satellites now gather photo intelligence with extremely powerful cameras capable of re-

solving from outer space features as small as the headlines of newspapers. American Big Bird photo reconnaissance satellites now process photographs on board and then transmit data to earth, which are then reconstituted by computer.

Other American satellites provide early warning of Soviet missile launches, police the U.S.-Soviet nuclear test-ban treaty by monitoring for ultra-violet and X-ray radiation and conduct electronic intelligence-gathering by pinpointing the location of Soviet air and missile defense radar systems.

The latter type of satellite, known as a "ferret," also locates military radio communications, taps Soviet microwave telephone communications, and is even able to turn on a ground-based transmitter to discover its electronic characteristics.

Cosmos 954 was one of a pair of satellites used by the Soviets to track the movements of the American Navy with space-borne radar.

At the end of their missions these Soviet ocean surveillance satellites are designed to be broken into three major segments; the nuclear fission reactor that powers the satellite is then supposed to be boosted into an 800 mile-high circular orbit to endure for centuries. A malfunction forced Cosmos 954 to lose altitude and burn up in the atmosphere.

The U.S. conducted successful anti-satellite tests—using weapons known as "satellite killers"—beginning in 1963 and 1964. The American test projects were originally code-named "Early Spring" and "SAINT."

American interest in anti-satellite warfare dropped during the mid-'60s but picked up again when the Soviets began conducting their own satellite killer tests.

American intelligence sources report that the Soviets began conducting anti-satellite tests in 1968. Most of the Soviet tests have been accomplished by launching a target satellite and then attempting to destroy it with a satellite killer. Since late 1975 intelligence sources have reported that the Soviets have also been experimenting with laser and particle-beam satellite killers.

Dr. Richard Garwin, a former Defense department scientist, recently disclosed that the U.S. is considering developing particle-beam weapons mounted in satellites. They could also be used as space-mounted anti-ballistic missile systems to jam the electronic guidance equipment in ICBM missiles, or even to melt the plutonium in a nuclear warhead.

The Defense department is also developing the capability to capture satellites in space. The space shuttle, scheduled to become operational in 1980, will have "retrieval" capability. The space shuttle is designed to ferry astronauts and space experiments back and forth between space and earth.

A spokesman for the Air Force Space and Missile System Organization in El Segundo, Calif., said in an interview that the shuttle would experiment with the retrieval of an orbiting American satellite during its first six flights. "It would be nice if you had the capability to run around and pluck up all these dead things that might be a safety hazard or radiation hazard," he said.

(© Pacific News Service)

John Markoff is a military affairs specialist for the Third Century America Project.

CITIZEN ACTION

Minnesota farmers fight power line construction

By Dave Woods

THE TEMPERATURE RANGES from 20° to -20° in the rich corn fields and pastures of Pope County, Minnesota at this time of year. The numbing cold hasn't prevented scores of Minnesota farmers from almost daily risking arrest trying to stop work on a super-high-voltage power line being built from Underwood, N.D., to eastern Minnesota.

For over three years they have been struggling against the 400 kilovolt direct current power line in hearing rooms, courtrooms and corn fields. The conflict has ranged all across central Minnesota and into North Dakota.

During the past two months the action has centered around Lowry, Minn., population 268. Lowry is situated in Pope County, 140 miles west of Minneapolis and St. Paul. Up to 150 of Minnesota's 504 state troopers have been stationed in Pope County since Jan. 9, with another 100 sometimes on standby in neighboring countries.

Pope County is one of the least likely places in Minnesota to experience a "crime wave." Most of its residents are conservative German Catholics who work hard and don't cause the county's four-member sheriff's department an inordinate amount of trouble.

Times have changed. Over the main intersection of Lowry a state trooper is hung in effigy. Signs in store windows, on cars and pickups and even stuck in snowbanks proclaim: "No Power Line!," "Eminent Domain Violates Human Rights," and "The Redcoats Are Coming" (referring to the maroon snowmobile suits of the state troopers).

A battle almost every day.

Almost every day opponents of the power line march into battle with American flags unfurled. Across the fields they go. A teenage boy, who has taken a day off of school, struggles across a snowy corn field saying, "This is harder than phys. ed." A hundred of his relatives and neighbors hurry in the same direction. It's a family affair, with participants whose ages range from teens to 70s. At least half of the strongest leaders are women.

Sometimes the demonstrators stand near the surveyors, a bit disorganized. Other times they block the surveyors' equipment with flags, signs or their bodies. On Jan. 17 a hundred or more linked arms and circled in front of the surveyors so that no one person was impeding the work for more than a few seconds. At times they have blockaded construction vehicles with their own vehicles and, in one case, with thousand-pound boulders. Most days a few are arrested or given citations. The total was about 40 for January. Some people are "multiple offenders."

Last fall demonstrations slowed down temporarily when the power companies building the line brought \$500,000 punitive damage suits against a few demonstrator. Farmers feared losing their farms if they lost the suits. Subsequently, urban power line opponents who didn't have seizable property agreed to commit civil disobedience. The ice was broken by their arrests plus the decisions of large numbers of farmers to stand together as a united group against the power companies' attempts to intimidate them. Soon, resistance to the line was back up to its previous high level.

Hazards to work and health.

What accounts for this fervent and sustained resistance? Quite simply, power

line opponents see themselves as resisting an invasion. They are angry that the power companies rammed an application for a power line permit through the state regulatory agencies over their strong objections. They resent the routing of the line across their fields rather than along section lines in order to save the power companies money. And they are outraged at the power companies' scant concern about the health hazards of the line.

Power line towers built every quarter mile across their fields would make efficient operation of farm equipment difficult and, in some cases, would make field spraying from the air and operation of irrigation systems impossible. The 150-foot towers would dwarf silos, water towers and church steeples.

The uncertain health hazards of the line are another reason for the farmers' determined opposition. Everyone agrees that the line would produce ozone, emit micro-waves and induce electric shocks if metal objects near the line were not grounded. The disagreement comes over just how hazardous these chemical, magnetic field and electrical field effects would be. Farmers are particularly angered that highway right-of-ways and wildlife areas are off-limits to power lines but that their farms are fair game. "Are skunks more important than farm families?" asks one Lowry sign.

Power line opponents are more concerned with stopping the line than with proposing detailed alternatives to it but they have suggested a few. Among them are: serious energy conservation, switching to alternative sources of energy, shipping the coal to small generating plants located near where power is needed and burying the power line or rerouting it along highways.

Allies.

From the beginning farm families directly affected by the line have been the mainstay of the opposition, but they have managed to attract a number of allies from near and far, including:

- *Sympathetic neighbors*—"Originally, the line was supposed to go over my son's land," Ben Herickhoff, a retired farmer in his 70s said. "I still feel sorry for people where it will go and I keep supporting them."

- *Those who may be affected by future lines*—"There is a power plant proposed in our area," said Tim Velde, a Wood Lake farmer who had driven 75 miles with two friends to take part in a demonstration. "We're just here to show support for them because this is going to set the rules for how things are going to be." He said that he and his friends hope to send a carload of people to the demonstrations about once a week.

- *Others who oppose granting corporations eminent domain powers*—Ex-State Representative Bill Ojala told a crowd of about 150 in Lowry that people who live in northern Minnesota oppose the delegation of the power of eminent domain to the taconite mining companies just as much as farmers in central Minnesota oppose the delegation of eminent domain authority to the power companies.

- *Anti-nuclear activists*—Members of Northern Sun, a coalition which is opposing construction of a nuclear power plant in Tyrone, Wisc., are also among those who have joined in demonstrations against the power line. In turn, farmers opposing the North Dakota/Minnesota line have gone to Wisconsin to speak with farmers living in the path of power lines that would serve the Tyrone nuclear plant.

- *Urban radicals*—Small numbers of Twin Cities radicals (mainly people con-



A line of Minnesota state troopers keep power line demonstrators at bay.

Pope County is one of the least likely places to expect a protest movement, but times are changing. Farmers and their friends have been forced into action by an encroaching high voltage power line.

nected with food co-ops) have been involved in the power line dispute since last spring. Former anti-war activist George Crocker has temporarily left his job with a co-op food warehouse and moved to Lowry to work full-time against the line. Don Olson, another anti-war activist, has been coordinating a shuttle of demonstrators between Minneapolis and Lowry three or four times a week since early December.

Everyone's learning.

Conservative farmers and radicals from Northern Sun and the Twin Cities seem to have found a comfortable stretch of common ground. Their low opinions of the power companies are identical and they have now had similar experiences with the police. Both are currently sharing the joys and frustrations of a struggle against a powerful opponent. Urban participants' understanding of rural life is growing and some farmers say that although they supported the Vietnam war, they now understand why others opposed it.

Other connections are being made as well. Recently a farm wife asked an urban opponent of the power line how she could get in touch with some native Americans to learn how they are defending their mineral rights. A speaker at a recent meeting in Lowry said, "They're taking our land and our rights. They did this to the Indians before and now they're doing it to us and, believe me, I sympathize with the Indians."

It would be ridiculous to say there are no differences between radical and conservative opponents of the power line but both seem to be working well together. It is important to emphasize that while the farmers seem to welcome outside support, 90-95 percent of the opposition to

the power line is coming from farm families themselves.

Demonstrations in the fields continue and on Jan. 23 about 1,000 farmers and environmentalists gathered at the state capitol in St. Paul to take their case directly to the legislature.

Minnesota House Speaker Martin Sabo told representatives of the demonstrators that the House will hold hearings to determine whether the Legislature can halt the line. About 40 people slept in the capitol building the night of the rally and about 15 the following night. A few of them spent their days lobbying state legislators.

A significant part of the Underwood generating plant and most of the 255 miles of the line in North Dakota have been built. Construction of the line is in progress in the two Minnesota counties nearest to North Dakota. Opponents of the line seem to assume that it will never be built.

"I wouldn't be here if I didn't think we could stop the line being built," says powerline opponent John Kooiman.

"I think it's going to be stopped and they're going to have to sit down and figure out ways to produce and transmit power that will have the least effect on humans," says Tim Velde.

"More than one farmer has said it will never operate," says Don Olson. "They say there'll be sabotage and the state troopers can't patrol 400 miles of line."

At this point, it's impossible to predict what the final outcome will be. In the meantime, those tireless Lowry sign-makers have a final word of advice for the power companies and state officials—"Don't shock the hand that feeds you."

Dave Woods is a free-lance writer in Minneapolis.

BANKS

Bank abuses under scrutiny



Ken Firestone

Public attention resulting from the investigation of Bert Lance (above) prompted the current inquiry.

By Georg Zola

WASHINGTON

WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO get a loan from your full service bank?" asks the man in the commercial produced by the American Bankers Association (ABA). After putting the question to the television audience, he presents a couple who tell us how easy it was to obtain a loan to start a small business from their "full service bank."

The message is clear: your local banker is not only accessible, but is more than willing to loan money.

What it doesn't tell you is that more often than not the average person qualifies for nothing greater than an auto loan, while banking laws permit your local banker and other officers unlimited borrowing from bank funds at favorable interest rates.

Borrowing by bank officers, or insider lending, is a common practice in the banking industry, but within the past ten years it has been increasingly abused, along with other perquisites available to bank officers.

Needless to say, these abuses occur at the expense of the bank's depositors, whose savings and checking deposits provide the capital used by lending institutions.

Although abuses in the banking industry have been common knowledge among members of Congress for some time, Bert Lance's abuse of depositors' funds has provoked Congress into considering reform of the banking laws in the form of the "Safe Banking Act."

The most significant provisions of the bill, which is currently being considered by a House subcommittee, deals with insider lending and overdrafts by bank officers and directors. Although the provisions set new limits on insider lending, they are hardly restrictive.

Preferential rates.

It isn't uncommon for banks to give their officers loans at preferential interest rates. The Riggs National Bank and Madison National Bank in Washington, for instance, recently loaned two of their key officers \$9 million at a low interest rate, so they could invest in a mortgage investment company.

Riggs and Madison are the first and sixth largest banks in Washington. When

Consumers have not been well represented at the bank bill hearings. Rep. Ferdinand St. Germain says, "We've been at the eye of a bank lobbying effort seldom matched..." The American Bankers Association lies behind the campaign.

some of the loans weren't repaid, the banks postponed loan payment dates and in some instances reduced the interest charges.

Among the reasons given for the 1974 failure of the New York-based Franklin National Bank was "unrecorded contracts," which alone amounted to a \$43 million loss. At the time of its failure Franklin was the 20th largest bank in the U.S.

Such loans are often made at lower interest rates and for amounts larger than other borrowers could qualify for, and they do not have to appear on the bank's books. They can be successfully hidden from public inspection and the federal regulators who periodically inspect a bank's books.

Except for personal loans, current law doesn't limit the amount that bank officers can borrow through insider lending. In the case of both large and small banks the federal government relies solely on the judgment of bank officers to decide how much they can borrow without jeopardizing the bank's safety.

The House bill would permit banks with assets of less than \$50 million to make individual loans to their officers and major stockholders amounting to 10 percent of their capital accounts, with the total of all such loans limited to 50 percent of a bank's capital account. This would mean, for instance, that for a bank with a capital account of \$300 million, insider lending could total as much as \$150 million.

If a bank's assets total more than \$50 million the 10 percent loan limit per individual isn't applicable, but the 50 percent overall total would still apply.

Bankers are opposed to this provision, arguing that, as at present, there should be no limits on insider lending. They justify the large volume of loans for bank officers by saying that it's because they tend to represent the larger business in town.

Overdrafts by bank officials would also be prohibited by the bill. Meanwhile, they continue as an accepted practice, usually without penalty, in the banking industry.

Cheap loans.

The bill would "impose" new limits on money that bank officers could borrow as "personal loans," often without as much as a credit check.

If passed in its present form, bank officers would be allowed to borrow up to \$60,000 for mortgages; \$20,000 for education loans; and \$10,000 for other purposes. These figures are twice the current legal limits.

A committee staff member, whose sympathies lie more with savings and loans and credit unions, says, "Basically, we're allowing the banker to borrow \$60,000 so he can buy a second house, rent it out and make a profit, and providing him with \$10,000 so he can make sure he and his wife meet the dress requirements of their particular social circle."

"The \$20,000 will send his two kids to college through a long term low interest loan, which they, and not the father, will

pay off after they graduate. All this at the depositors' expense."

As a whole, banks supported the increase in personal loan limits for its officers. However, a lobbyist for Independent Bankers Association (IBA) said, "My people would prefer that this particular area not be regulated."

Rep. Ferdinand St. Germain (D-RI), who chairs the committee holding hearings on the bill, says that sloppy banking practices are more common than the public is aware of. He points out that since 1960 101 banks have failed in the U.S. Insider lending and self dealing were the primary causes of failure in 57 percent of the cases.

The failure of C. Arnholt Smith's San Diego-based U.S. National Bank, the largest failure in American history, for instance, stemmed from "heavy loan losses and a sizeable loan portfolio of dubious collectability," according to the comptroller of the currency, Smith loaned himself \$170 million for questionable enterprises that subsequently failed.

Rent a bank.

During hearings St. Germain also criticized "rent-a-bank" schemes. Reaching its peak in 1976 in Carrizo Springs, Texas, a border town southwest of San Antonio, "rent-a-bank" schemes involve the buying and selling of a bank with no equity invested by investors.

In the case of the Citizens State Bank in Carrizo Springs, a group of persons borrowed money to buy the controlling stock. They then milked the bank through insider loans for a couple of years before the federal government was forced to liquidate its assets and close the bank. During the entire period the controlling parties never used any of their own money.

In 1976 the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. (FDIC) also closed the First State Bank and Trust Co. of Rio Grande City because the "bank was in an unsafe and unsound condition caused primarily by loans to its controlling shareholder and persons associated with him."

The House bill also calls for government examination of all correspondent accounts. (A deposit placed by one bank in another bank.)

It was the overdrafts and his bank's correspondent accounts that headed the criticism of Lance's banking practices. The National Bank of Georgia had non-interest bearing accounts in banks that had loaned Lance the millions of dollars which enabled him to buy controlling stock in the bank.

Another provision in the measure deals with financial privacy. It is generally supported by the banks but opposed by the Justice department.

This provision would open an individual's financial record to the government only if the individual consented in writing or the government obtained a subpoena. Either way it would be with the individual's knowledge. The government would also be required to pay for copying and locating costs of the information sought.

Currently many banks make available to the IRS and FBI copies of an individual's financial records upon request and without alerting the depositor.

Consumers have not been well represented at the bank bill hearings. St. Germain says, "We [the committee] have been at the eye of a bank lobbying effort seldom matched in the history of the committee."

"The House has been flooded by mail from literally thousands of banks and much of this mail has been filled with distortions and highly misleading statements about the effects of the bill. It is a nationwide campaign being orchestrated through the Washington offices of the ABA under the guise of a 'grassroots' campaign."

To date the Carter administration has withheld its support for the act.

Georg Zola is a free-lance writer in Washington.

ENERGY

Solar prospects brighten

By David Moberg

ELECTRICITY FROM THE SUN—directly generated by collections of tiny photovoltaic "solar" cells made of silicon wafers—powers an irrigation pump on a Navaho reservation, an outdoor privy in Yellowstone Park, corrosion prevention devices on pipelines and bridges, remote Army communications centers and satellites in space.

By the mid-1980s, and possibly even earlier, there is a very good chance that similar cells will provide electricity for many Americans' homes at prices that will beat the local utility with its coal-fired or nuclear generating plants.

There are, however, several ways in which the utilities can—and probably will try to—blunt this threat to their monopoly powers.

Photovoltaic cells clearly work. They're just expensive—in the range of ten to 20 times the cost of competing sources of electricity in most cases.

However, there are many places where photovoltaics are the cheapest source of electricity even at today's prices, as the isolated operating examples demonstrate. If all those potential markets were rapidly converted to photovoltaics, the solar cell industry could take advantage of mass production methods that would rapidly push the cost of the cells down.

Unexpected breakthroughs—not foreseeable but likely to occur—could cut the prices even more. Prices of transistors and integrated circuits followed a similar course. Tiny radios or TVs and pocket calculators that would have been a rich man's toy a few years ago are now household commonplaces.

Photovoltaics, along with solar heating and hot water heating, could give individual homes a giant measure of energy independence from the electric and gas utilities and stabilize energy prices at low levels. Even without the expected energy price increases, the solar energy transition can be started immediately with economically and socially beneficial results.

Even utilities seeing light.

Even the utilities are rapidly seeing that the sun is the future, even though officially they talk of solar power as a distant option and even botch solar tests (as Boston's *Real Paper* reported on one Massachusetts study) to discourage reliance on the sun.

With a little help from friends in government, utilities are planning to install and to own photovoltaics and other solar systems in homes and then lease them, coming as close as they can to "owning the sun."

Left to private market forces alone the photovoltaic industry will develop slowly, since companies—despite their talk of the "risks" undertaken by free enterprise—are unwilling to invest the money needed for mass production investment in anticipation of a market that does not yet exist even though its future is certain.

The price of solar cells would probably still drop from their current \$10 or more per peak watt (the output at high noon on a sunny day) to \$2.10 to \$3.50 by 1983 even without a federal boost.

If the federal government spent as little as \$98 million over three years buying photovoltaics for buildings and Defense department sites (replacing 20 percent of the gasoline-powered remote generators, for example), the price per peak watt would probably drop to as little as 75 cents by 1983, according to an Oct. 27, 1977, report to the Department of Energy by the BDM Corporation. (A \$450 million purchase, as proposed earlier, could bring the price down to 44 cents a peak watt.)

Solar cells could be economical for homes from New York to Los Angeles by 1983 if the federal government buys just \$98 million worth in three years. But utilities lurk at side as obstacle.

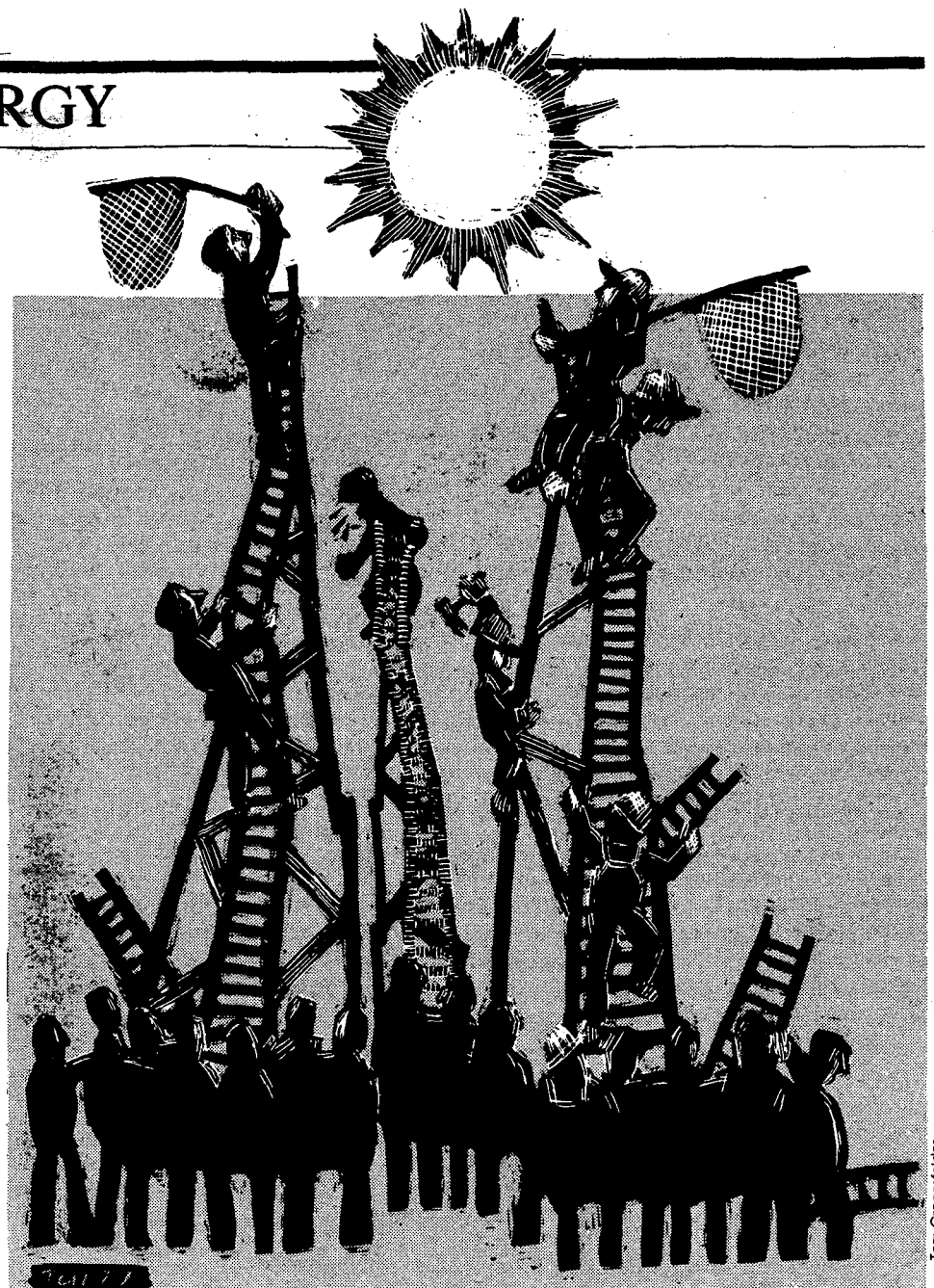
The Department of Energy and Congressional Office of Technology Assessment studies agree that rapid development of photovoltaics can be greatly stimulated by large-scale federal purchases.

The House and Senate conference committee on energy legislation has agreed to allocate \$98 million over three years for photovoltaic purchases. The fate of the plan is tied to the controversial energy tax portion of the energy plan. As much as \$20 million more may be authorized under other legislation for this fiscal year.

Lower cost, bigger market.

What would it mean to have photovoltaics drop so fast in price? With each halving of the price, the BDM report concludes, the size of the market would triple. With each expansion in the market, new economies of production should open up.

Calculating costs over the life cycle of the cells, which emphasizes their advantages since the fuel is free, there would soon be demand not only from users at remote sites and from a recreational market (sailors, campers, picnickers, sports fans) but also from state and local governments for street and highway lighting, businesses with outdoor lighting, and users of irrigation, oilfield and other pumps. Photovoltaics would also soon be desir-



able for many underdeveloped countries without established central power systems and with few fossil fuels.

Before 1983 photovoltaics would be a wise buy for home electricity in sunny areas, such as Hawaii or parts of the Southwest. Even at a price of \$.75-\$1.00 per peak watt, people in New York or Boston—where electricity prices are extremely high—could profitably switch to photovoltaics, the BDM study concluded. Tax credits, steep electricity price hikes or adoption of time-of-day pricing could make \$1 per peak watt photovoltaics economical in such cities as Washington, D.C., Los Angeles and Philadelphia as well.

Already the logic of the federal purchase strategy has been demonstrated. The Mississippi County Community College in Arkansas recently bought a 250-kilowatt power system for \$6 per peak watt.

With that one subsidized purchase, totaling over half the 1976 world production of photovoltaics, the price dropped by 40 percent.

If one utility invested \$1 billion in photovoltaic cells over five years, starting at the end of the proposed federal purchase in 1983, it could deliver electricity from the cells at a cost of \$.051 to \$.188 per kilowatt-hour, according to calculations by Barry Commoner and Robert Scott of the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems. The same investment in a nuclear plant would yield power at a price of \$.091 per kilowatt-hour. Furthermore, the solar cell price would probably drop to between 11 and 54 cents per peak watt, compared with \$2 per watt for a nuclear plant and its transmission facilities.

There are "no fundamental barriers" in the technology for rapidly reducing photo-

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SolarCal: Sun yields job bonus

By David Moberg

SOLAR ENERGY MEANS MORE jobs. That's the conclusion of a detailed analysis by the California Public Policy Center of the probable impact of a crash program to install solar-powered space and water heating units in three-fourths of the residences and half the commercial buildings in California during the next decade.

SolarCal, the Policy Center's plan for a public agency to finance and promote solar energy, could bring such a solar boom to California. It will almost certainly be introduced in the state assembly within the coming month, and supporters believe the chances for its passage this year are quite good.

"Jobs from the Sun," the Policy Center study, concluded that the crash space and water heating program could conservatively generate the equivalent of 376,815 jobs per year for the coming decade. That would make the solar industry one of California's largest. Such a growth in jobs last year could have cut the state's unemployment rate nearly in half.

The study claims that the crash solar program would not only increase jobs but also:

- slow down the inflationary spiral,
- protect the environment,
- save over \$10 billion in capital that

would otherwise go to other states or countries for energy.

- save nearly \$20 billion in taxes,
- increase the Gross State Product by \$51 billion,
- boost small businesses, spread benefits evenly throughout the state and provide opportunities for targeted development projects to reduce high levels of unemployment among blacks, Chicanos and other hard-hit groups.

The Policy Center cites several studies that show solar space and water heating to be cheaper than electric resistance heating and competitive with natural gas from the consumer's standpoint. Since deregulation of natural gas now seems likely, gas prices will undoubtedly skyrocket, making solar power even more necessary in order to avoid inflationary disaster.

At present only 2,500 to 3,500 people are employed in the state's fledgling solar industry. With the proper financial stimulus—providing homeowners low-interest loans—the industry would be able to expand rapidly, providing about 8 percent of its total jobs in manufacturing of collectors and components, 21 percent in installation, 7 percent in distribution and sales, and the final two-thirds in indirectly induced jobs. Many of the jobs would be in construction and manufacturing, and most skills needed could be learned fairly quickly, the Policy Center argues.

Some of the optimistic forecast in "Jobs from the Sun" assumes that the state will act to discourage monopolization of the emerging industry, to bolster solar production and installation in areas of high unemployment and to encourage employment of union labor in all parts of the new industry.

The report adds a new dimension to the long-standing debates over expansion of nuclear power in California and over importation of expensive, dangerously explosive liquified natural gas (LNG). Citing several studies, the Policy Center argues that solar power generates from two to eight times as many jobs as nuclear power for an equivalent amount of energy. Solar energy would yield 62 times as many jobs as LNG for the same energy supply. The limited solar plan would also save between 26 and 35 percent of the natural gas currently used in California.

Although the precise figures would vary considerably, Policy Center researchers are convinced that similar results could be demonstrated for other parts of the country.

"Jobs from the Sun" may help to consolidate support from the state's labor unions for the SolarCal legislation now being drafted. Many local unions and individual leaders have already endorsed SolarCal, along with numerous environ-

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IN THE WORLD

MIDEAST

Jordan's Hussein skeptical about Sadat initiative

By Geoffrey Aronson

EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT ANWAR el-Sadat's decision to visit Jerusalem was greeted coolly in Jordan. While sympathetic with Sadat's desire for peace and supportive of Sadat's pro-Western orientation, Jordan's King Hussein, like the Saudi's, is unhappy to "go it alone" in defiance of Arab attempts to devise an agreed-upon negotiating strategy.

Hussein has been very busy in the past weeks shuttling among Arab capitals, trying to mend Arab fences in the hope of attaining such a consensus. He has met not only with Arab leaders but also with President Carter and the Shah of Iran, whose nation is the principal anti-communist anti-radical bulwark on the eastern Middle East front and who is taking an active interest in promoting a successful resolution of the current Egyptian-Israeli talks.

Many are critical of Sadat for not having developed a "reasoned strategy" for the negotiations with Israel, beyond the initial dramatic visit to Jerusalem. "His are the actions of a visionary, not a statesman," noted Abdel Azziz Hay Ahmed, who was deported from the West Bank to Jordan proper in March 1976 after having announced his candidacy for mayor of Al Bireh. "We, unlike Sadat, know the Israelis well from the Occupation. Israel is not ready to withdraw from all the occupied territories."

Sadat's motives are praised by some, suspected by others. Fears that he will disengage Egyptian demands from Arab demands, enabling the achievement of less than a comprehensive settlement are expressed openly. With Palestinians forming a majority in Jordan and with the bitter memories of the Black September civil war still fresh, Jordan has no desire to see Egypt conclude a separate agreement that would leave the Palestinians question festering. They also don't want to see the eastern Arab states isolated. "We are hoping that Sadat sticks to his statements demanding satisfaction of Arab demands," noted a source in the Foreign Minister's office. "If he does sign an agreement detrimental to the Arabs, this will in no way aid progress to a just peace in the area," he added.

"He'll be burned," predicted another.

Garantees wanted.

A separate Egyptian-Israeli agreement on the Sinai would signal the failure of the American-backed, moderate Arab preference for a negotiated comprehensive settlement and would strengthen the legitimacy of rejectionist Arab sentiments whose long-standing belief in Israeli intransigence would be vindicated. Commented Maher Irshaid, a member of the Jordanian parliament, "It is becoming harder for moderates to speak up, even more difficult than three months ago. I am afraid that if 1978-79 does not show any real progress, the moderates will disappear—they will be silenced and a new wave of radicalism will move into the Middle East."

The prospect of the rise of an anti-American tide in the Arab world is a subject of great concern to Jordanian capitalists, entrepreneurs, and members of the Hashemite regime, whose allegiance to the West would make them targets of a radicalized Arab world.

King Hussein wants the talks between Sadat and Begin to succeed, but he doubts from Jordan's experience that Israel will give up its occupied territories, and he doesn't want to be seen as a traitor in some Arab capitals.

An important reason for Jordanian unwillingness to get involved in the negotiations is the improbability of Israel even acceding to Jordanian demands—Israeli withdrawal and reestablishment of Arab, not necessarily Palestinian, sovereignty over the West Bank. Jordan has unsuccessfully attempted to reach agreement with Israel throughout the past decade. The Begin plan changes none of this.

"Hussein wants guarantees. He does not want to be seen as a traitor. If he believed that Israel would actually withdraw, then he would reassess the idea of participation," one Jordanian journalist said.

A "more mature partnership."

Jordanian reluctance to participate in the talks is also affected by other considera-



Wide World

tions. "It must be remembered," pointed out Hanna Nassir, president of Beirzeit University on the West Bank, who was deported two years ago, "that formally Jordan isn't even in the picture." The Rabat decision removed Jordan from deliberations concerning the West Bank by recognizing the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

In the ten years of Israeli occupation, Palestinian national consciousness, inspired and directed by the PLO, has become a political fact in the Occupied Territories. Any attempt to reimpose Jordanian authority by force or to exclude the PLO from the process of self-determination would be an expensive and politically disruptive endeavor.

The Royal Family is aware of this. Crown Prince Hassan and the Queen Mother are known to be adamantly opposed to any reestablishment of Jordanian authority on the West Bank under any conditions. "The current Israeli plan," explained a source in the Prime Minister's office, "would only put Hussein into the position of policeman on the West Bank whose role would be to assure Palestinian passivity."

It is clear, however, that in spite of internal opposition and international recognition of the PLO as the Arab sovereign in Palestinian affairs, Hussein wants to return to his former position as King of Jerusalem. Questions of pride and dignity aside, the West Bank was once the agri-

Continued on page 11.

Sadat jails noted Egyptian poet

By Bert Johanson

ANWAR EL-SADAT WAS UNABLE to embark upon his "historic mission" to Jerusalem without a crack-down on dissenters. Dozens of Palestinians were deported from Egypt, while security police imprisoned hundreds of Egyptians opposed to Sadat's policies. Prominent among those imprisoned is the well-known colloquial poet Ahmed Fouad Negm.

Negm is known primarily for his collaboration with the blind singer Sheikh Imam Issa. Together Negm and Sheikh Imam have been closely identified with the workers and student movement that emerged following the defeat of the Nasserist regime in the June War of 1967; their songs and poems have been labeled "the conscience and voice of the Egyptian masses."

Negm's colloquial poetry, unlike the poetry of "classical" or literary Arabic, is easily understood by the Egyptian people, and is in the tradition of earlier poets who were active in the national struggle against the British occupation. Sheikh Imam, schooled in the singing of traditional Islamic chants, accompanies himself on the oud (the oriental lute), unlike most officially-sanctioned Egyptian popu-

lar singers, who are backed by bands playing in a "westernized" Arabic style.

More than 200 of their songs deal with the everyday life of the workers and peasants, the Palestinian resistance, the decadence of the Egyptian and Arab ruling classes, Pablo Neruda, and the peoples of Indochina. Their songs cannot pass the all-powerful Egyptian censor-general, and have never been heard on record, radio or television. But the popularity of their songs spreads steadily by word of mouth and smuggled cassette tapes.

Eventually the government tried to buy off Negm and Sheikh Imam, offering them regular radio and television shows if they would only produce "acceptable" songs. Negm and Sheikh Imam refused and continue to live in poverty. They have been jailed on an almost annual basis. (Recently, however, the Sadat regime has not jailed Sheikh Imam, for fear that the poor prison conditions combined with his advanced age might kill him and make him a martyr of the movement.)

Negm was previously arrested on Jan. 22, 1977 and charged with inspiring the January uprising against Sadat's cancellation of food subsidies. He was held eight months without trial. Released on Sept. 4, he was imprisoned again on Nov. 16 along with his wife. In a letter smuggled out of

Egypt, Negm details the awful conditions at Tora prison, typical of the conditions under which all Egyptian political prisoners are held:

We are...living four to a cell of two-by-three meters, without ventilation or daylight. These cells are a haven for rats and cockroaches and all kinds of insects. We are deprived of all medical care, are suffering from malnutrition, and are denied any contact with the outside world—no radios or newspapers. We are also prevented from seeing our lawyers and families, although we have been under arrest for varying lengths of time. They close these graves on us 21 hours a day. We face torture and humiliation at the hands of the prison manager who is one of the well-known princes of torture in Egypt.

Some time in December Negm and the 20 other political prisoners at Tora prison went on a hunger strike in protest over these conditions. They have called on those concerned with human rights to protest the Egyptian government's treatment of its political prisoners and to demand their immediate release.

Bert Johanson is a Washington-based writer on Middle East affairs. Thanks to MERIP for a copy of Negm's letter and background on Negm and Sheikh Imam.

SPAIN

Spanish women suffer setbacks

By Amy Schwartz

IN POST-FRANCO SPAIN, DESPITE certain democratic reforms and an active women's movement, there still exists discriminatory legislation against women. Under Spanish law, all matters involving the family are vested in the male. It is illegal for a woman to use contraceptives. Abortions are illegal. Prostitutes and women accused of adultery receive long jail sentences. It is because of these barbaric laws that *Amnestia per la Dona*, Amnesty for Women, has become a vital part of the women's movement in Spain.

The Spanish Cortes, in its last general session, rejected a bill that would have allowed amnesty for women and men jailed for adultery and cohabitation. Men must be accused of cohabitation to be considered adulterers. The bill would also have allowed the use and distribution of contraceptives and legalized abortion.

Despite such setbacks, women's demands are slowly gaining recognition.

In the June 15 elections most of the participating parties included women's issues in their campaign promises; 52 percent of the vote was at stake. In fall 1977 the Ministry of Culture suggested forming a sub-secretariat on the condition of women—recognition of a growing political movement.

About 2,000 people turned out for a march in December under the slogan, Amnesty for Women. Held in Barcelona, it was followed by several days of meetings by the participants.

These developments have caused public opinion to shift in favor of the need to change laws that prohibit divorce, abortion and contraceptives. A poll by a

major weekly magazine showed an increase of about 10 percent from 1976-77 in the number of people advocating legalization of divorce and de-penalization of abortion and the distribution of contraceptives.

Six years for adultery.

Under Spanish law it is a crime to abort; both the woman who undergoes the operation and the abortionist are subject to jail sentences of up to six years. Despite this law and social and religious taboos on abortion, there are many clandestine abortions—as many as natural births (400,000) occur each year, all under conditions that are dangerous and fatal for many women.

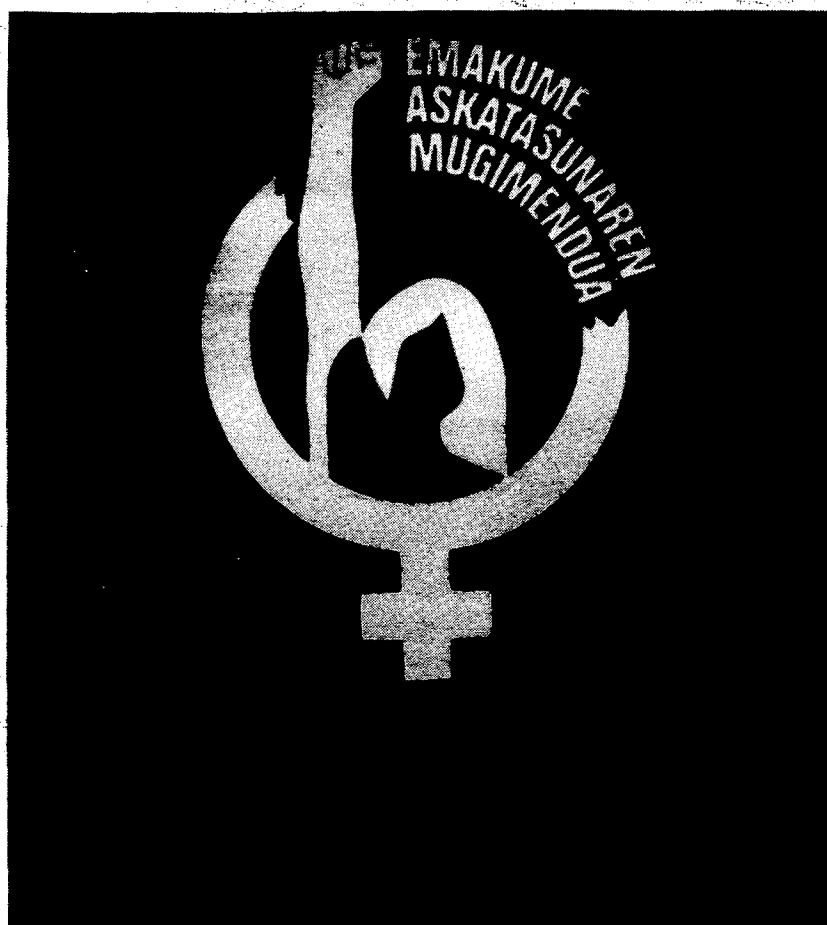
Condoms are sold freely, as one of their functions is to protect men from venereal disease. But only men can legally use them.

In Catholic Spain divorce is not allowed. Legal separation is expensive and difficult to obtain. Within marriage, the husband has "paternal authority"—including rights over common property, the salaries of both parties and custody of any children.

Also, according to the Spanish code, a wife can be accused of adultery and sentenced to six years in jail for having extramarital sex—even after a couple is legally separated.

For a man to be accused of adultery it must be proven that he knew that his consort was married. Only the wronged husband can bring charges.

Amnesty for Women demands that women held in prison for "women's crimes" be released. An Oct. 14 Amnesty law pardoned only those who could prove that their "crimes" were specifically related to one of the movements for civil rights or autonomy in Spain.



The slogan, "Amnesty for Women," has become a focus for the women's movement.

"Social prisoners" (as "common" prisoners are called), among them many women, have been left jailed. The result has been repeated prison uprisings, hunger strikes, and self-mutilation: the prisoners' desperate cries for some sort of recognition.

Agreement not implemented.

The Moncloa Pact has served to confuse the picture. Billed as a step towards true democracy, this agreement signed by Suarez and political party leaders, has been variously interpreted by the press and its signers, and arbitrarily implemented by the government.

The Moncloa Pact promised among other reforms the de-penalization of adultery. A bill to this effect has been presented by the Council of Ministers. It must still go through the slow process of approval by the Cortes.

Also agreed on in the Moncloa Pact was the de-penalization of the use and distribution of contraceptives; but so far not even a bill has been presented, although newspaper headlines played up the point.

Divorce is supposedly part of the new Constitution—Spain is governed right now without one—but it actually isn't even mentioned by name in the draft recently published. Instead, it states that civil law will regulate "separation and dissolution" of marriage. The Constitution of the Second Republic, it is interesting to note, stated clearly that divorce could be obtained through mutual agreement.

Proposed divorce legislation calls for five years of separation before a divorce can be granted. This stipulated requirement for previous separation is longer than any other in the world.

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ITALY

A tired women's organization gets new life

By Jane Hilowitz

ROME

ON JAN. 19-22 2,000 ITALIAN women, delegates from all over Italy, held a conference here. It was the tenth conference of the Union of Italian Women (UDI) but the first in which women of all walks of life reached agreement on an autonomous program that may make them into a political force to be reckoned with in Italian society. Catholics and feminists, housewives and Communist party militants were unanimous about the kind of organization they want and the role they want to play in their country.

Meeting under the slogan, "My conscience as a woman united in a great organized movement to change our lives," the women made clear that they want a mass organization that will promote the interests of *all* women as democratically as possible.

UDI was formerly closely tied to the Italian Communist party. Today, UDI's members and delegates, even the left-wing militants, reject any party affiliation for their organization. They feel that the strength of a women's movement lies in its autonomy in a male-dominated society (although some Catholics objected to the word *maschilista* and the mention of male domination in the concluding statement).

UDI, which was created after the Second World War, used to be staid and bureaucratic—"a tired organization," in the words of one delegate. Now, although the women on the podium were mainly in their 60s, three quarters of the delegates were under 40 and many were very young. In a nation known for its fashionable

dress, there were few very elegant women. And although some members of feminist groups stood out with their long flowered skirts and bulky sweaters, by and large the sartorial sobriety of the conference—which was held in the *Palazzo dei Congressi* outside Rome—reflected the seriousness of the tasks to be accomplished. Women who showed up without delegate status or a press card were firmly turned away at the door.

Defense of working women.

For two days the delegates separated into 20 work groups, each of which discussed all the themes of the conference. They then met in plenary session to vote on a common platform. It was easy to agree on some themes: support for abortion, which is yet to be made legal in Italy; the need for maternity and child clinics; the need for day care; and a law to guarantee the autonomy of women, including minors, in making decisions that affect their own lives (only in 1975 has initial legal progress been made toward guaranteeing the rights of women).

Conference delegates also took a position about working women. "We reject the idea," they stated in their concluding document, "that women entering the work force are taking jobs away from men. On the contrary, women in the work force are a prerequisite for the further development of work itself and a transformation of the quality of work."

Laws on equality and job training programs for women and so forth are seen as weapons to increase the clout of the women's movement; and this clout will also be felt in the movement's relation to the institutions of Italian society. There will be no rigid acceptance or rejection of an

institution, but instead a constructive application of pressure.

Most conference members see the oppression of women as a specific form of the oppression of people by people, and women's emancipation implies not simply a search for equality with men but instead a profound transformation of the whole society. What is usually referred to as "the women's question" has, therefore, potentially revolutionary significance. Yet some conference delegates were troubled about the meaning of "emancipation" as opposed to "liberation," and also about how to effect the needed transition from individual states of oppression to the acquisition of social consciousness. Obviously these issues are bound to crop up again.

A mass organization.

Another difficult theme, one discussed at length in the plenary session, was whether UDI's statutes should permit women who already hold positions in political parties or government to hold office in UDI. Some delegates feared for UDI's newly gained autonomy if politically affiliated women were allowed on the national committee. By a narrow margin, though, the collaboration of all women on all levels of the organization, and hence the intense circulation and utilization of different ideas and experience, was held to be more important than any threat to UDI's freedom of action.

There was long discussion, too, about the relation between the national committee and the membership. Fifty new members were elected to the national committee during the conference, and another 130 will be chosen in provincial conferences throughout Italy by March 8. But

should the national committee "coordinate and decide" UDI's policy or merely "coordinate and direct" it? Self-consciously striving for direct democracy, the delegates were perplexed by this issue.

What now? Given Italy's experience of mass-based organization, and especially the Communist party, Italian women already know what a broadly based movement is like. This makes UDI's work easier. Whether it succeeds will depend on how well it gives expression to what all women have in common, and on how well it gives a political voice to all those women in Italy who have never had one. What happens in the provincial congresses between now and March 8 should be fairly indicative.

But Italy is in the midst of a grave economic and political crisis, a crisis not just of political leadership but of the basic institutions of the society. UDI delegates fear that the uncertainty of the situation, and the malfunctioning of democratic and representative institutions, may restrict the space in which a women's movement can thrive. They are even afraid that, because of the crisis, the degree of participation of Italian women have already gained in the past will be affected negatively.

Women who believe in the possibilities of UDI and who want to construct a strong women's movement must therefore work doubly hard. They have to work to expand as a mass-based, autonomous organization, and at the same time they have to avoid being backed into an overly defensive posture. Clearly UDI, searching for its specific political identity, will not find it overnight.

Jane Hilowitz attended the UDI conference in Rome. She recently returned to the U.S.

ITALY

U.S. may speed historic compromise

BY DIANA JOHNSTONE

WHEN TRILATERAL COMMISSION MEMBER Richard Gardner arrived in Rome last March, much of the Italian left seemed hopeful that at last Washington had sent them an ambassador capable of understanding some of the subtleties of Italian politics. Outgoing ambassador John Volpe had earned the nickname of "John Golpe" (John "Coupe") for his friendly relations with ultra-right coup plotters.

An intellectual with an elegant Venetian wife, Gardner had class. Italians seemed pleased that the Empire had selected a member of its first team instead of some mediocre political hack.

Upon Gardner's arrival, the Communist newspaper *Unità* quoted him as saying, in flawless Italian, this congenial saying of Giacomo Leopardi: "Patience is the most heroic of virtues, precisely because it has no appearance of heroism." Italian Communists know a thing or two about patience, not generally considered a typically American virtue. Was Gardner an exception?

Ten months later, as reports spread that Gardner himself had pressed the Carter administration to issue its "veto" of Communist party (PCI) participation in the Italian government, Professor Gardner was being widely written off in Rome as no more astute than his predecessors.

The Berlitz School.

For an intellectual, Gardner has displayed remarkably little interest in getting to know the third of the Italian population that votes Communist and that happens to include a considerable proportion of the country's intellectuals and cultural celebrities. He has not only assiduously avoided meeting PCI leaders, except for brief calls on top officeholders such as mayors and the president of the lower house of parliament, Pietro Ingrao, required by protocol, but has also shunned social contacts with any of the leading left-wing writers, journalists or artists who might have given him some fresh ideas to mull over.

Instead, ambassador Gardner and his wife Danielle Luzzatto, member of a wealthy Venetian family that emigrated in 1938 to escape anti-Semitism, seem to prefer the company of the Roman nobility, for whom the most burning political issue is likely to be whether to support the Pope or ultra-right Bishop Lefebvre.

The weekly *Panorama* commented that the couple, "like many Americans, are fascinated by titles," and said that Mrs. Gardner made up her guest lists "with one eye on politics, but never of a certain color, and both eyes on the jet set."

Be that as it may, PCI leaders seem to have lost none of their proverbial patience in trying to teach the Americans the facts of life. Patience, PCI "foreign minister" Gian Carlo Pajetta told *Panorama*, is necessary "with those countries that are so big they have trouble moving, and even understanding. Despite a sea of information—so much that I suspect they get lost in it."

"We keep repeating things," Pajetta said. "We are like the Berlitz School."

The facts of life, according to Italian diplomat and historian Carlo Maurizi, indicate that "it is not enough to tell the Christian Democrats they mustn't govern with the Communists. You have to say *how* it is possible to govern without them. The stand taken by Washington may slow down the process [of the "historic compromise"]; it cannot stop it."

It is even possible that the U.S. veto may actually help to accomplish the very *rapprochement* between Christian Democratic moderates and the PCI it sought to prevent.

Fear of Argentina-style coup.

In Italy, the Carter administration's statement against PCI participation in the government is perceived as interference not on behalf of the Christian Democratic party (DC) as a whole, but definitely as favoring its right-wing factions, led by Minister of Industry Carlo Donat Cattin and the Milan "new right" leader Massimo De Carolis. Such figures, whose anti-Communism appeals to American ears, are far from representing the viewpoint and interests of the entire Italian bourgeoisie.

Donat Cattin may be concerned, among other things, with preserving the DC's clutch on its "spoils system" within the nationalized industries. But private business may be closer to the views expressed by the small "enlightened capitalist" Republican party of Ugo La Malfa, who prefers an understanding with the PCI that could gain the cooperation of organized labor. And there are sectors of the DC who prefer compromise to a continued "ungovernability" that could lead to something like an Argentina-style military coup where they could lose power more decisively to the extreme right.

By ordering a stalemate, the U.S. veto favors the designs of Massimo De Carolis, who, enjoying West German Christian Democratic support, wants early elections in the hope of improving the position of his rightist "new faces" within the DC. Even though the PCI risks losing some ground in early elections, the prospect horrifies most Italian politicians of all



Top: Ambassador and Danielle Gardner. Bottom: Massimo De Carolis.

stripes, because of the violence and further economic deterioration that would probably accompany an election campaign in the present atmosphere. Gains by the De Carolis faction could only make it harder to form any viable government.

In this context, PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer can continue to bring pressure, even from a position of relative weakness, on DC moderates, since all have something to lose if a compromise solution to the government crisis is not found. In this respect, American intervention on behalf of the De Carolis right may actually have contributed to a bond of shared political interest between the PCI and DC moderates.

Hidden currents of exasperation.

At the same time, recent statements by Communist labor leader Luciano Lama

going farther than ever before in favor of working class sacrifices and austerity measures increase the attractiveness of the "historic compromise" to Italian businessmen. The PCI is presenting itself more and more convincingly as the champion, not of socialism or even of the working class, but of the Italian national economy.

DC foreign policy specialist Luigi Granelli recently expressed the opinion that "the success of people like De Carolis in the U.S. stems from a certain lack of political culture among Americans, unable to catch on to subtle distinctions." The U.S., he suggested, cannot hold Italy forever by economic blackmail, since "the area for politically safe investment is getting to be so small as to be practically nonexistent." Italy may be in debt, but so is most of the world, and where is the "flight of capital" to flee to for safe investment in such a world?

Since the fall of fascism, Italians have generally been extremely non-nationalistic, tending to accept with lucid resignation their subservient position within the American empire. But the latest blatant orders from Washington may have stirred hidden currents of exasperation.

"Peanuts" Carter, President of the United States and recently promoted King of international *faux pas*, commented the weekly *Europeo*, "told the Poles, with the help of an incompetent interpreter, that he 'desired carnal knowledge of them.' To the Italians he sent word that before giving themselves a government they had to take his opinion into account. Two equally scandalous propositions." ■

Jordan

Continued from page 9.

cultural heart of the Jordanian kingdom and its highly educated Palestinian population a reservoir of technical and managerial talent.

Hussein is confident that West Bankers, when given the opportunity, will favor the establishment of a "more mature Jordanian-Palestinian partnership" than the one that Jordan previously imposed. He is convinced that West Bankers, tired of living under Israeli occupation, will support a settlement that assures an Israeli withdrawal, even if it falls short of meeting PLO demands. The PLO and its adherents are viewed as a passing phenomenon, the product of circumstance, not principle.

According to this scenario, in the event

of an Israeli withdrawal, the West Bank Old Guard will dust off their hats and reassert their previous political dominance, albeit on a more equal basis with Amman. In this assumption, the Jordanians are remarkably like the Israelis, who also count on the "silent majority" of West Bankers to accustom themselves to whatever is decided for them.

Dissatisfied with Carter.

Jordanians believe that if there is to be an Israeli withdrawal, an unlikely prospect under the best of conditions, an active American campaign must be launched to pressure the Israelis. Jordanians are dissatisfied with the Carter administration, which they hope will muster the foresight and political courage to perceive clear American interests and will not be cowed into submission by what is generally regarded here as an all-powerful Zionist lobby.

Among Palestinians in Jordan there is an identification with the struggle for hu-

man and political freedoms and concurrently with the U.S. as the symbolic leader of these traditions. They are genuinely confused by what they understand to be the U.S. commitment to democracy and self-determination and the reality of American support for Israel.

Early American attempts to encourage Jordanian participation in the Cairo talks was merely "the political thing to do," said a Western diplomatic source. The recent American support for Jordan's policy of noninvolvement is a more honest political strategy and reflects not only Jordanians' but also American understanding of the need to keep all options open.

"After all," concluded a highly placed source, "Jordan doesn't have a great deal to lose [if Sadat fails] except the hope for security and peaceful coexistence, while Sadat will have to confront the reality of his failure." ■

Geoffrey Aronson is a free-lance journalist who recently visited Jordan.

WELCOME TO

RENOVATION FOR PROFIT

FOR A PANORAMIC view of the best—and the sootiest—of downtown Cleveland the Barry Madigan building is the place to live. Located at the foot of the Detroit-Superior bridge, the Madigan apartment building stands as a four-story brick-and-stone gateway to the New West Side, one of the oldest and poorest sections of the city.



The Barry Madigan Building

To the north of the Madigan building is Cleveland's version of the Empire State Building, the Terminal Tower, which rises above the billowing steel mills of the "flats," the city's major industrial area along the Cuyahoga River. To the east is the West Side Market, an open air food market established in the mid-1800s where farmers still sell their produce. To the west is a cross-cultural mural that heralds the neighborhood's varied composition and working-class history.

The building's 40 residents range from old men on pensions and a former chef in a downtown restaurant, to an artist who has totally redesigned his apartment and young activists engaged in neighborhood social-service projects.

Amid this diversity the Madigan building has grown into a small community where people care for each other's needs, trade furniture back and forth, and gather regularly for summer picnics or holiday dinners.

"In a sense the building is a microcosm of the character, diversity and potential of the Near West Side. There's a friendly, close atmosphere here," says Sister Renee Krisko, a grade school teacher who has lived there for two years. When the electricity and heat recently went out, for example, the building's managers, Kathy and Bobby, brought everyone into their apartment for coffee. Later, Sister Krisko baked apple brown betty from ingredients provided by her next door neighbor and passed out portions to everyone.

But Sister Krisko and other residents fear that their supportive, though poor, life style is being steadily swept aside by social and economic currents that are altering the composition of the Near West Side. The building is for sale and will probably be purchased by people associated with Ohio City, a loosely-defined group of middle income suburbanites who are flowing back into the city's boundaries.

"The Near West Side is great because of the basic honesty of poor people who don't have money and things to hide behind," says Frank Gaydosh, a Madigan building resident who works with black children in a nearby housing project. "When the building is sold the new owners will fix everything up and force the people out, changing all the charm that they are striving for in the first place. Artists may move in, but you can only see so many clay pots and stained glass windows."

"If people have to leave, it will be very difficult to find someplace comparable in cleanliness, general upkeep and cost. This is one of the last places for poor and elderly people who don't want to move into concrete boxes in the projects," adds Sister Krisko.

When it comes to renovation, however, the Madigan building is a prime target. Built in 1903, it once housed a trolley station connecting that corner to Public Square, the hub of the downtown area. (There has been some talk of reopening that station.) Located on the spot where two Indian foot-paths converged, it has been declared a historic monument. Most importantly, the building is walking distance from downtown and presents easy access to transportation, grocery stores, hospitals, schools and community centers.

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported that the Madigan building had been sold to a group of investors headed by Francis Gaul, a state legislator, which last September purchased the Kiefer's building next door. (The owner of Madigan's vehemently denied the report.)

According to assistant manager Dan Gaul, the group intends to put over \$200,000 into renovating Kiefer's Restaurant, a popular watering hole for local politicians, and fixing up the 18 suites upstairs. Rents, which are now \$70 per month, are expected to triple when the work is completed.

"Kiefer's used to be just a good place to eat. Now it's a restaurant of historical significance. People are investing a lot of money to make a lot of money and they're doing it at the expense of the people here and the facilities they've used," complains Gaydosh, who is certain that menu prices will soar when the "new" Kiefer's is unveiled.

The story of the Madigan building and Kiefer's is just one fragment in a controversy that has fractured the Near West Side since the late 1960s, when people from the suburbs began to move back into the city to take advantage of the convenience, cheap housing and architectural splendor.

The controversy is not unique to Cleveland. Many northern industrial cities which experienced a movement to the suburbs in the post-WWII era of prosperity, cheap gasoline and rapid housing construction, are now witnessing a remigration to the inner city in the wake of fiscal crisis and expensive energy.

On the Near West Side the lines of conflict are not clearly drawn. Many community residents generally favor the renovation of dilapidated housing and the revitalization of neighborhood businesses. But they vaguely resent their new "middle class" neighbors. Even the newcomers are divided: some abhor the area's minority population, others are in it just for a quick profit, and still others hope to involve indigenous neighborhood people in a battle to preserve the positive aspects of their way of life.

The terrain is well worth the fight, since it is intimately bound to the working class history of northeast Ohio.

In 1796, when Moses Cleaveland surveyed the east side of the Cuyahoga River, he was not allowed to set foot on the west bank because of a federal treaty with the Indians. In 1836, after that treaty was broken, the west side was incorporated as Ohio City, the first city in Cuyahoga County. The east side was incorporated as Cleveland a month later, sparking an urban competition that survives to this day. In 1854, the two cities were amalgamated.

The early citizens of Ohio City were carpenters, brewers and laborers whose last names indicated their Irish, German and Dutch backgrounds. The completion of the Ohio Canal brought thousands of Irish immigrants to the west side to work in the city's booming shipbuilding industry.

The class distinctions in Ohio City were stark. The hub of the city was Franklin Circle, the "center of fashion and elegant homes of the wealthy," according to a contemporary newspaper description. Here lived Mark Hanna, U.S. Senator and Republican boss, along with many of the area's rising industrial elite. With the coming of the steel industry to the flats, they gradually moved to Euclid Avenue on the east side, away from the soot and smoke.

As the early residents moved further

to the west, their homes were occupied by Hungarians, Czechs and other Eastern Europeans who labored in the mills. After WWII, the neighborhood again changed hands as mechanization and exhausted coal mines drove Appalachians to northern cities and Puerto Ricans fled the overcrowded conditions of the East Coast. The east side, meanwhile, became largely black, setting the stage for the election of Carl Stokes, the first black mayor of a major industrial city, in 1968.

By the 1960s the Near West Side had become a run-down poor community populated by white Appalachians, Puerto Ricans, American Indians and elderly ethnics. Mansions had become rooming houses. The crime rate increased. And area teenagers attended a high school with the highest dropout rate in the city.

But the Near West Side also became the city's most heavily organized area. Students for a Democratic Society sponsored several organizing projects there. War on Poverty money flowed into a myriad of social service agencies, which now number in the hundreds. In the late '60s a group of activists moved there from the suburbs, forming the Thomas Merton Community to carry out various activities—a hospitality house, a community bail fund, daily meals for the destitute—in the Catholic Worker tradition.

STOPPING THE EXODUS



Bruce Hedderson

IN 1969 ANOTHER group of suburbanites moved in for quite different reasons.

"We're not really 'invading' the area with some sort of

historical or architectural fetish, but want to better the neighborhood for the people already there as well as provide a living history for the people of Cleveland and surrounding suburbs," Bruce Hedderson, an urban planner from Toronto, Canada, commented at the time.

"This will create a stability to the neighborhood that will change people's minds from thoughts of joining the suburban exodus. The property values will go up, and a sense of community will spring up that will result in better city services, police protection, recreation—all the things that make living and raising a family as pleasant in the inner city as anywhere in the suburbs."

To transform these noble, optimistic words into reality, Hedderson, with six other individuals, formed the Ohio City Community Development Association (OCCDA) to "encourage citizens to maintain or establish their homes in Ohio City and restore or revitalize them." Their stated goal was to create a "dynamic neighborhood steeped in history and charm, convenience and exuberance."

For Hedderson the main attraction of the area was the architecture. "You just can't get the same kind of aesthetics in the suburbs," he explained to *IN THESE TIMES*. "The Near West Side is like a village. So a big push initially was to smarten the exteriors. We felt that if we came here and did something to the outsides—sandblasting, constantly picking up the paper, putting on a fresh coat of paint—that the people next door might do the same thing. And that's what has happened."

Because of the renovation of his house, a 66-year-old Hungarian woman living next door decided to stay in the neighborhood, Hedderson says. She and other holdouts were finding it difficult to remain because of drug trafficking, prostitution and "poor people who were just not responsible," Hedderson says. "When she discovered that people were coming back, it was like a resurrection for her."

But Hedderson's attitude towards the neighborhood also betrays an unabashed social-darwinist, survival-of-the fittest philosophy that can readily be interpreted as a fundamental repugnance towards poor people. When confronted with the resentment expressed by some community residents, he replies that this neighborhood has historically been a transitory one anyway. By investing money here, he says, Ohio City people are both saving houses and lending a measure of stability, permanence and "responsibility" that would otherwise be lacking.

"Being poor is largely a psychological point of view," he says. "Let's not kid ourselves, many poor people are just not responsible. If people feel resentment, they shouldn't direct it at me. It's something I'm incapable of correcting. It's just frustration that they didn't get some breaks in life."

OHIO CITY

"Many poor people that live here don't leave anything behind. They suck it dry and tear it apart. We had the city plant new trees, for instance, and within a week a bunch of hoods tore up every tree on the street."

Other Ohio City people hasten to point out that Hedderson's views are somewhat extreme and not necessarily representative. Indeed, since 1969 a wide assortment of people have moved into the area, including young couples with more progressive social views who chose the neighborhood over the suburbs. Their migration has, in fact, convinced many community people to stay and has begun to restore the area's proud tradition.

According to a local savings and loan association, about \$20 million in improvements have been made by residential property owners in Ohio City. Over 360 homes have been purchased for renovation or remodeling. A half-dozen restaurants and taverns have also been refurbished, attracting more lunch hour business from downtown. A merchants' group, the Ohio City Redevelopment Association is also trying to attract new business into the area.

An especially dramatic change has occurred at Heck's. Once a grungy corner bar, it is now one of Ohio City's quaint, glittering centerpieces. To the rear of the bar is a restaurant constructed like a greenhouse with high-back wicker king's chairs, hanging ferns, a circular stairway, modern art, and soft rock'n'roll music as background. In addition to the basic hamburger, priced at \$2.15, the luncheon menu includes Croque Monsieur, Turkey Madear, and Salade Veg Marinare.

Though some community people resent

these high-priced restaurants, the primary objections to the Ohio City phenomenon center on the displacement of long-time residents, the disruption of some community services, and the rise in rents by landlords.

Rosemary Rivera, a young Puerto Rican woman who has lived on the Near West Side for 14 years, has been searching for an apartment in the Ohio City area for six months. She believes Ohio City has made it much more difficult to find a clean place for the low rents that were once commonplace.

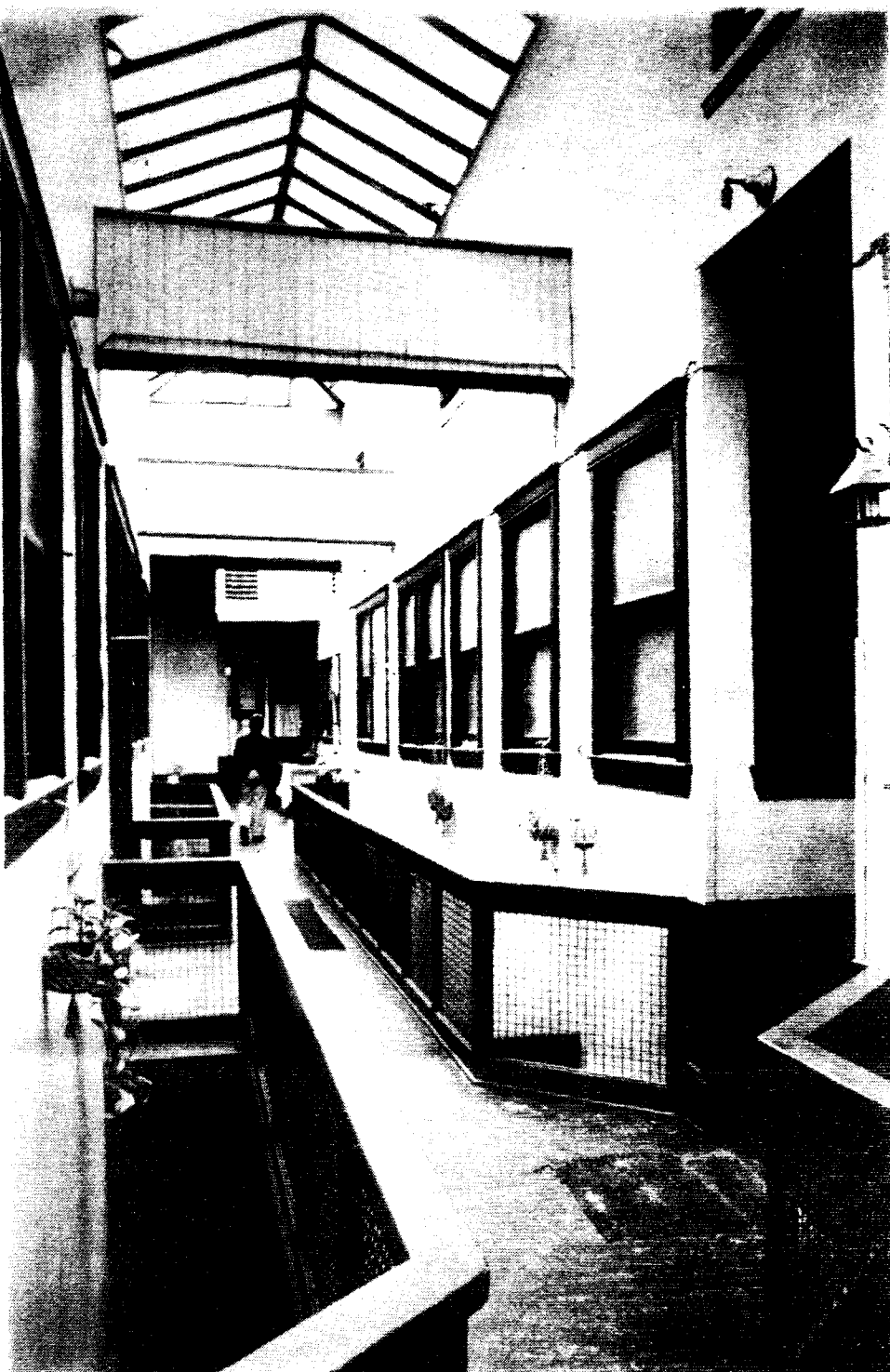
"When they come in and buy houses left and right and not give a damn where people go who live there, it's ridiculous," she argues. "Now even slum landlords are charging higher rents because they say it's a choice area."

Rivera cites the example of one real estate speculator who bought a house for about \$12,000, renovated it, and is now selling it for \$59,000. Similar houses have been on the market for years, she says, but are not being bought because of the outrageous prices.

She also bristles at the arrogant attitudes displayed by some Ohio City entrepreneurs. She walked past Heck's several years ago as it was being fixed up and asked one of the carpenters what was going on. The new owner, John Saile, one of the OCCDA founders, introduced himself and told her that if he had his way, he'd wipe all of the Appalachians and Puerto Ricans out of the area.

"If you're a businessman, Ohio City is great. If you're a community person, it's a drag," she concludes. "If people got the money, they may as well stay in the suburbs and leave us what we've got."

BY DAN MARSCHELL
PHOTOS BY STEVE CAGAN



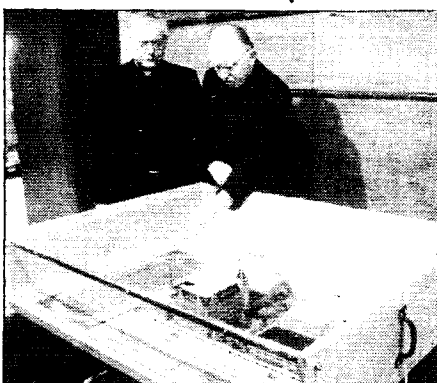
Interior of the Kiefer Building, one of the structures renovated by Near West Side developers.

STABILIZING INSTITUTIONS

THE DECIDING factor in the transformation of the Near West Side may be the actions of prominent "stabilizing" institutions. A 1975 study by Kent State University architecture students found that the "main stabilizing factors in the neighborhood" included St. Ignatius High School, the West Side Market, and Lutheran Medical Center. After deciding to resist the traditional flight to the suburbs, these institutions intend to invest over \$29 million in construction and renovation by 1981.

The expansion of St. Ignatius, however, has also become a source of controversy. The only Jesuit college preparatory high school in the city, the 90-year-old St. Ignatius is a pocket of suburbia with minimal responsiveness to the immediate neighborhood. The vast majority of its all-male student body are white, though the school purports to serve the entire Cleveland area.

The school has been systematically buying occupied houses, apartment buildings and vacant lots in their plan to spend \$7.5 million to construct an intramural practice field—which they say will be available to the surrounding community—a new library, a student commons area and an arts and music center. The complex will encompass 13 acres when completed.



Coordinators of St. Ignatius' expansion.

Rev. James O'Reilly, school president, argues that St. Ignatius, a trustee of the Ohio City-Redevelopment Association, is an asset to the city's corporate community because it turns out superior graduates, 75 percent of whom pursue their careers in Cleveland after college. "We are getting donations because the corporations are beginning to understand that we are a real part of the rebirth of the city," he recently told the *Plain Dealer*. They hope to raise \$1.48 million from business sources.

"When St. Ignatius bought up and tore down buildings, what consideration did they give to the lack of housing available for people," asks Sister Krisko, a Catholic whose brother attended the school. "I don't understand how a football field really helps the neighborhood."

For Ignatius students, it seems like a matter of survival to get in and out of the neighborhood safely. Instead, the school should promote an understanding of the structures that perpetuate poverty.

Community sentiment towards St. Ignatius is also mixed. The school does carry out some community-oriented projects, including a requirement that sophomores spend at least three hours a week for one semester working for the elderly and the poor in nearby hospitals, nursing homes and community schools. Those most negative towards the school are, of course, those whose homes have been directly affected by the expansion.

Tom Wagner, an Ignatius graduate, has seen the expansion go up to his front door. He moved to Ohio City a year ago because he found the neighborhood's composition exciting and could fix up a home and still recover the cost of renovation. He also realized the necessity for stronger community organization. As the president of the Ohio City Block Club Association, a federation of 13 block clubs, he has fought several minor battles with the school.

When Ignatius bought one house and left it vacant for three months, members of the Carroll Avenue block club tacked a sign on the front door saying: "This property is owned by St. Ignatius High School! Please rip it down or board it up." Two days later, after threatening to sue the

block club, the school leveled the building.

For Wagner, and a "new generation" of Ohio City migrants, the neighborhood presents a tremendous challenge. "You've got to have a place that is competitive with the suburbs. You can't run a city with old folks and poor people," he explained to *IN THESE TIMES*. "The challenge of this area is to keep indigenous community people working with those who moved from outlying areas."

As more self-conscious organizers settle in the area, the Near West Side could begin to fulfill the model projected by the residents of the Barry Madigan building. Right now, there is no overt opposition to the encroachment upon Ohio City. But many community people still have hostile feelings about the manner in which the migration is being conducted.

"People have lived around here for many years," says Kathy Pashko, a Madigan building manager who has lived in the area for 27 years. "It's wrong that they're knocking people out of their houses. It's good that they're fixing up buildings, but most people can't afford these outrageous rents and high restaurant prices."

"The Ohio City people are really doing it backwards," adds Frank Gaydosh. "They're fixing up buildings when they should be patching up the people by helping them build confidence in themselves."

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Jim Yanagisawa

Ten years after: Carter's budget or King's Dream?

Ten years have passed since President Lyndon B. Johnson's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission) released its report. President Johnson had appointed it to find the causes of the black uprisings that shook American cities in the '60s. The Commission traced the disorders to white racism that consigned most black Americans to ghetto life. It warned that in the absence of drastic changes, the U.S. was moving toward two separate and unequal societies divided by race.

The National Urban League has just released its own report, "The State of Black America, 1978," finding that no such drastic changes have since occurred and that the momentum toward two separate and unequal societies has continued and in many ways accelerated.

On the basis of six detailed studies on economic conditions, black families and children, education, housing, social welfare, and politics, the report observes that the Commission's "major recommendations have largely gone unimplemented," and concludes that "the illnesses that afflicted black communities in 1967—unemployment, poverty, alienation, and the entire litany of the endemic problems of the ghetto—have not cleared up, and indeed, the patient has grown sicker."

The studies reveal a "sombre" picture, "clearly warning that the absence of the violence that aroused and alarmed the nation a decade ago, should not be interpreted as a sign that all is well in Black America."

These are not the firebrand words of a revolutionary but the cautious understatement of Vernon E. Jordan Jr., president of what has always been regarded as among the more conservative and least visionary of black organizations.

Deteriorating conditions.

Here are some of the vital—or morbid—statistics:

- By the end of 1977 black unemployment was over twice what it was in 1967 and at the highest level ever recorded. The official figures show 638,000 blacks or 7.4 percent unemployed in 1967, and 1,492,000 or 13.2 percent in 1977.

- If "unofficial" (real) unemployment is counted, the overall black jobless rate is 25 percent and for black teenagers about 60 percent.

- More blacks were unemployed in the "recovery" year of 1977 than in the "recession" trough of early 1975.

- The number of black families designated as poor has remained the same over the decade (at 1.6 million), while that of whites has dropped (from 4.1 to 3.4 million).

- Black median family income rose from 58 percent of white in 1966 to 61 percent in 1970, during the years of economic expansion, but since then has fallen back to 59 percent, and in dollar terms the gap has widened.

- Nearly 75 percent of the black children in the nation's 26 largest cities attend schools with 90 to 100 percent minority enrollment, and these schools are for the most part underfunded.

It is not from want of black struggle and aspiration that the majority of blacks have experienced little change or deterioration in their living conditions. Given half

a chance, blacks have made notable achievements against even the heaviest of odds.

In the decade since the Kerner report black high school enrollment rates have risen five times as fast as for whites; between 1970 and 1975 the black high school graduation rate was higher than the white, and the dropout rate only slightly higher. But once out of high school black youths find fewer and fewer jobs. Black college enrollment has risen from 4.6 percent of the total in 1966 to 10.7 percent by 1976. But much of that enrollment is accounted for by historically black colleges and community (two-year) colleges, and blacks remain grossly underrepresented in graduate and professional schools.

Between 1966 and 1976 the proportion of black families with "middle income" or better (\$15,000 or more) has increased at twice the rate of white and now stands at about 25 percent (the proportion of white families with such income is over 50 percent).

But as Jordan summarizes the record, "the harsh truth remains that the majority of blacks have not seen their status materially improved over the past decade, and that for many, their lives are still lived out in despair and deprivation."

Dr. Bernard C. Watson of Temple University, author of one of the six detailed studies incorporated in the league's report, puts it more bluntly: "It is becoming increasingly apparent to more and more black Americans...that what once appeared to be receptivity to and support for full equality for black Americans may well have been, at best, a temporary phenomenon and, at worst, an illusion."

The various public programs in civil rights, employment, education, and housing over the past decade have at best tended toward aiding the "integration" of less than 25 percent of the black people into "middle income" status and more opportunity than before, though still with far from full equality. But they leave the other 75 percent as a "nation apart."

What kind of integration?

In a perverse sense, "integration" has worked—if integration means fostering a somewhat larger black "middle class" with little real power but pursuing rewards tied to accepting the dominant society, and tending to separate itself from the great mass of black people, who are left to sink into deeper poverty and misery. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that this is precisely the kind of "integration" government policy has been designed to achieve.

The position embodied in the Urban League report rejects such "integration" and has set it at odds with what appears to be a "middle class" strategy emerging among top NAACP leaders like Benjamin L. Hooks. The League's position is at odds with the policies of the Carter administration, now more clearly evident with the unveiling of its 1979 fiscal year budget.

Carter's budget sustains the Nixon-Ford policies of placing military spending, winning "business confidence," fighting inflation, and balancing the budget above social programs and full employment. But as Dr. Bernard E. Anderson of the

Wharton School and author of one of the report's studies points out, "national economic policies are critical to economic gains for the black communities," and "slow growth policies are devastating to black economic aspirations." A full employment economy is, in Anderson's words, "a *sine qua non* for economic equality; it always has been and continues to be so today."

A budget of little hope.

The Carter budget projects a growth rate that will keep the unemployment rate above 5 percent well into the 1980s. Its programs for urban development, housing, education, and health care are too small to make more than a dent in ghetto conditions. Its special programs for treating "structural" unemployment, while helping some, will leave most needy blacks unaided. Robert C. Weaver, another study author and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development under President Johnson, caustically observes that even the lower 4 percent unemployment definition of "full employment," would do little "to relieve the structural unemployment of blacks."

Perhaps more important, as Weaver emphasizes, "a high level of employment is a *sine qua non* for establishing an economic and political climate" conducive to sustained black gains. Special programs heralded as aiding blacks in the midst of high white unemployment and economic insecurity inevitably exacerbates racist feelings and politics, setting whites against blacks in competition for scarce jobs, housing, educational opportunities, and health care.

It is no accident that the larger part of black gains came in the late '60s with relatively higher general employment levels (supported by war-time spending and military service), that those gains stopped or were eroded in the slow growth years of the '70s, and that white political and ideological resistance to black gains has grown steadily since 1970.

The Carter budget and the policies it projects into the foreseeable future point

toward more "positions of strength" abroad and increasing urban decay at home, deepening racial conflict, and a quickening drift into two separate and unequal societies. We shall probably soon have another Presidential Commission appointed in the wake of new "civil disorders" to tell us, like the Kerner Commission ten years ago, that "white racism" is the root cause.

But that explanation is true only if "white racism" means not only prejudice or white "psychology" but also the dominant corporate system of property, investment, and labor, and the government policies designed to preserve it. For that system stands at the heart of the power structure that makes a full employment economy impossible, and that turns whites against blacks.

King and Malcolm.

February 1978 also marks the tenth anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King. Like Malcolm X, King came to realize that the "black question" was as much a class and property as a race question; that without social planning that must fundamentally threaten the preservation of the corporate power structure and its class system, there could be no sustained movement of blacks, and the American people as a whole, toward equality. He understood that the "black question" is also the question of American democracy and its genuine attainment. Like Malcolm X, he died for those beliefs.

If we are to live to fulfill those beliefs, we will have to do more than celebrate Malcolm's and King's deaths. We will have to honor their beliefs by acting upon them. As good a place as any to begin is to work for political coalitions among whites and blacks that can formulate a people's budget and policies against such corporate budgets and policies as Carter's, and that can elect representatives at all levels of government committed to fighting for their adoption and implementation. The Dream remains. Will we make it a reality?



With the Kerner Commission's recommendations still unimplemented, the illnesses afflicting black communities have worsened, and America's division into two separate societies deepens.

Letters

Take a bow, Alvah

WHAT I ESPECIALLY LIKE about *IN THESE TIMES* is the wide area of interest that it covers. It not only offers its readers a choice of heavy political analysis, but also writers on the lighter side get to the heart of a question.

I refer to Alvah Bessie's regular column "Considered Opinion" on "Requiescat Charlie" (*ITT*, Jan. 11). It was a fine critical appreciation of a great artist who stood up when it counted.

—Sam Krieger
Rohnert Park, Calif.

Wild horses

KUDOS TO IN THESE TIMES ON your excellent coverage of the plight of the wild mustangs. Readers will be interested to know that there is a superb film that documents the history and presents circumstances of these horses. *Nowhere to Run: Saga of the Mustang* was made by prize-winning filmmaker Jeanne Rosenberg (and an *ITT* subscriber). It is available from j'/max productions, 119 Muerdago Rd., Topanga, California 90290.

Keep up the good work.

—Harry R. Siegel
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Virginia Slims and Apartheid

WE HAVE SENT THE FOLLOWING letter to Mr. Jack Miller, coordinator of the Virginia Slims Tournament:

The Steve Biko Memorial Committee of Chicago appreciates the valuable work Virginia Slims has done in making concrete the right of women to participate in tennis on an equal basis with men. We ask you now to extend your policy of fairness on the question of racism in sport.

Our committee urges you to reconsider your policy of including as participants in your tournament members of the apartheid tennis association of South Africa. We ask you not to invite these players to play in your games. If a tennis tournament is to be conducted in the true spirit of fair play and open competition, there can be no room for preference or exclusion because of race.

In recent months the government of South Africa has increased its violent and vicious repressive apartheid policies. The world press has carried numerous

accounts to document this statement. The death of Steve Biko in the hands of the South African police is the reason for our committee's formation.

In the United States our President, Jimmy Carter, has called for Americans to take a firm stand in favor of Human Rights. In view of these two trends, it is vital for an influential organization such as yours to demonstrate by its actions that it does not favor or abet racism in sport, but rather opposes it absolutely.

We thus appeal to you now to take a firm stand against racism in sport. We appeal to you to honor the UN resolutions which call for an end to all sports contacts with apartheid sports bodies such as the South African tennis association.

We will continue to protest your current position of including players backed by racist organizations. We hope you will change your policy soon.

It would be useful to engage in a dialogue with you on this issue if that is necessary. Should you want further material on the subject please let us know.

—Ellen Mark
Corresponding Secretary
Steve Biko Memorial Committee
39 S. LaSalle St., Suite 825
Chicago, IL 60603

Urgent Human Rights plea

WE ARE WRITING TO YOU IN A state of profound urgency to ask you to join us in defending the human rights of Sami Esmail. Sami is an American citizen of Palestinian descent, an honors student at Michigan State University and currently a graduate student and teaching assistant in the Department of Electrical Engineering.

On Dec. 21, 1977, at the urging of his family, Sami attempted to return to Ramallah on the occupied West Bank to visit his dying father. He was arrested upon arrival at Ben-Gurion airport—on suspicion of being on a spying and terrorist mission, charges which were dropped upon the death of his father. He is still being held in jail in Israel. During the period of his arrest, Israeli authorities have systematically and flagrantly violated his human rights. Further details are enclosed.

Charges have remained ambiguous and have changed from week to week. He is presently charged with being a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (an outlawed group in Israel) and with contacting "foreign agents." None of these charges are alleged to have occurred in Israeli territory. We are outraged that an American citizen can be tried in a foreign country for exercising in the U.S. rights he is entitled to as an American citizen. Our purpose is to defend Sami's human rights.

Beyond the specifics of this case, the precedent set by these actions of the Israeli government is ominous. Freedom

of expression and association are among our inalienable rights. Political charges and trials aimed at curbing exercise of these rights is a serious threat to all of us and demands our immediate response.

Sami's trial will probably begin in less than one month. The most powerful tool we have at our disposal is the sensitivity of the Israeli government to American public opinion. We must act now and our actions must produce an outcry from every part of the country.

—National Committee to Defend
the Human Rights of Sami Esmail

1118 South Harrison Rd.
East Lansing, Mich. 48823

For truth in news packaging

I AM PUSHING A PROJECT WHICH I believe will be of interest to *ITT* readers. My ire was aroused recently by an AP wire story out of Washington appearing in the *Rocky Mountain News* which omitted important data. It was, I pointed out in a letter to the *News*, in its total impact a lie because it used only advantageous truths and omitted certain disadvantageous truths.

The story concerned the passage of S-1437. It dealt only with the more acceptable portions of the bill, and omitted completely the obnoxious aspects dealing with restraints on free assembly, right to demonstrate, etc. I sent a carbon copy of my letter with a covering letter to the AP bureau manager in Washington, D.C. (2021 K St., NW, Washington, DC 20006).

My point for *ITT* readers, who are better informed than the average, is that we should monitor wire services for inaccuracies and distortions. The effect of letters from diverse points, with carbon copies sent to client newspapers, upon bureau managers would be interesting to say the least. I don't think bureau managers at present get much of this sort of mail.

For interested *ITT* readers, here is the procedure: 1. clip out the offensive story, noting the place of story origin from the dateline; 2. contact the wire editor of the paper where the story appeared, make a complaint and obtain the address of the bureau sending out the story; 3. write a complaint to the newspaper and enclose the original story; 4. send a carbon copy of your letter and a copy of the story to the bureau manager involved. Avoid flippancy and explicit disrespect in your cover letter. Treat the wire service as if it were honestly trying to do an accurate and comprehensive job.

—Ford W. Cleere
Greeley, Colo.

Accent the punk-positive

YOU FOLKS ARE PUTTING OUT an informative, straight-forward and

truly progressive newspaper. There's no stale jargon or rhetoric, but you retain a leftist perspective which the average person will hopefully be able to relate to.

I especially appreciate your progressive outlook towards the "New Wave" movement or "punk" phenomenon. Though I don't relate to, in fact I abhor, the S/M and violent and sexist aspects of the movement, there's much positive to be said about it. For one, punks are some of the few people speaking out about their oppression.

I welcome the primitive energy, the surreal and dada artistic aspects, and the out-and-out fun the movement stands for. Punks aren't Nazis. Punks are just tired of the respectable roles and the docility even "hippies" have degenerated into accepting. I'm pleased that you folks have taken a realistic and sympathetic look at it.

—Irwin Myers
Carbondale, Ill.

Immoral equivalent of war

MARK NAISON'S ARTICLE ON the Superbowl (*ITT*, Jan. 25) was a profound disappointment. It was more appropriate for the politics and readership of the *New York Times* or *Newsweek* than *IN THESE TIMES*. In both spirit and content, his criticisms of the spectacle of Superbowl XII were shallow rather than incisive, liberal rather than radical.

Football has always emphasized and even depends upon machismo, male dominance, control, territorial incursions, and violent competition. Why Naison terms it "an honorable activity" is beyond me. Mass spectator sports are part and parcel of our massified culture, and as such, both reflect and influence it. Football is not a game to be played; it is ordered, brutal, military-like maneuvers. The film *Hearts and Minds*, for instance, often juxtaposed scenes of Vietnam atrocities and speeches of establishment figures with shots of cheerleaders and football games: the emphasis is on control, brutality, physical punishment and belief in a "just" cause.

That sex and football are packaged together should not have surprised Naison: "The TV coverage was an embarrassment... [It] provides another sad example of how sex is used to sell everything in sight." Of course. Like ethnicity and sports, sex is used in our society to divert criticism of the system away from those in control.

Oddly enough, Naison said some of this in "Sports and the American Empire," an article published in 1972 in *Radical America*.

Indeed, the Superbowl spectacle was not different in kind from the Vietnam spectacle—and no more honorable.

—Saul A. Rigberg
Amherst, Mass.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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"Oh, I'm the middle-man."

Alvah Bessie

Permissiveness for rich and powerful in America

"Equal Justice Under the Law" are the majestic words carved into the lintel of the Supreme Court and presumably they mean exactly what they say.

A small framed poster or announcement headed by those very words used to be found in many district or country jails where the newly-remanded convict could be enlightened by the information that in our country people who committed the same crimes received the same punishment.

It could be that there was a time when equal justice was meted out under our laws, to rich and poor alike; to black, white, yellow, brown or red; to female or male and perhaps, like the ideal sought by Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado*, there used to be an "object all sublime," which was achieved "in time—To let the punishment fit the crime."

If so, that time is long gone and it has probably been gone as long as anyone alive can remember what crimes have been committed by what kinds of people and what punishments they received. In our country, that is; let's not bother our heads about the others.

Starting at the bottom of the heap, among the "common" criminals you will find in county, state and federal pens: there are more than 300,000 at any given time; most are between 15 and 35; they come from the poorest levels of the population; a disproportionate number are brown, yellow or black. And if you talk to enough of them you will rapidly discover that there is little consistency in the punishment inflicted on these miscreants. For you will find one man doing one year for owning a pint of moonshine,

For men like Helms and Agnew "Letting the punishment fit the crime" means they don't do time—but if you lack clout, watch out.



while another who "possessed" one is pulling five.

Moonshiners in Texas sometimes got one year, sometimes five, sometimes ten. The length of the sentence seemed to have something to do with the color of their skin. You would also find men in district jails in Tennessee and Arkansas, being held for trial, who were held for years on end, no trial in sight. No explanation and, of course, no money for a lawyer.

These things can be explained. The law sometimes sets penalties like \$100 and one month in prison to \$1,000 and 12 months, and the judge's discretion—or prejudices—"make the punishment fit the crime," sometimes in reverse.

But far more outrageous than the flexibility built into the statutes, which may or may not be exercised, are those deviations and distortions of the concept of equal justice that are not written into law at all.

It has been amply demonstrated that

far more browns, blacks, yellows and foreign-borns have been executed for murder (and will be executed) than men and women with "white skins."

It has been more than amply demonstrated that your chances of doing any time (radical political activity excepted) will vary with the amount of money at your command, your position in "society" and/or its ruling groups—financial, industrial or governmental.

Should we mention former CIA director Helms, caught lying to a government committee, who let it be known that if he were forced to trial he might have to reveal horrendous secrets—maybe about how we overthrew the legally-elected government of Chile and got its President killed? *Ergo*: Two years, suspended, a \$2,000 fine paid by his pals, his attorney's statement that "He wears his conviction like a badge of honor." And his own: "I don't feel disgraced at all." Why should he when even our peanut President con-

curred in the deal and the prosecutor pleaded with the judge to suspend sentence—and his fat pension is intact?

Should we mention Spiro Agnew? His boss' jailed co-conspirators have had their sentences reduced by the same "stern" judge who sentenced them. They said they were sorry for what they had done; besides, one of them isn't feeling very well. And *their* un-indicted co-conspirator, the pardoned man, languishes in plush exile in his palace on the Pacific, just *honing* to get back in action.

Coda: On Oct. 29 the AP told the story of Ralph Lobaugh, 60, who spent 30 years behind bars in Indiana "for three murders that the authorities were fully aware he did not commit." Two months after his release he begged to come back to prison because he couldn't make it outside. They accepted him.

On the same day UPI reported that stinking-rich Joe Conforte had been convicted for not paying employee payroll taxes on his Mustang Ranch brothel in Nevada. He got 20 years and a fine of \$40,000 with another \$40,000 fine for his wife who got five years probation.

Conforte "appealed for mercy on the basis of his contributions to charity. He said he had given conservatively \$1 million to charity since he came to Nevada and that he had paid at least as much in taxes."

His appeal is pending. Any odds on how much time he will do?

Alvah Bessie is a novelist, critic and screenwriter who was involved in the Spanish Civil War as a soldier of the Republic and was a member of the Hollywood 10.

Richard B. Du Boff

Better ways to make jobs than by war spending

One of the many endearing things about economists is their refusal to discuss military spending in anything other than trivial terms. Typically, they will talk about it only to deny that it is "necessary" for prosperity in America.

People who hold that it is, or may be, "necessary" given the existing structure of politics and the solid opposition by business to most other types of government spending, are dismissed as "Marxian critics" or "left-wing foreign critics." In 1971 one economist even accused President Richard Nixon of resorting to "Marxist criticism of American society" when Nixon stated (correctly) that a \$4 billion cutback in Pentagon spending had contributed to a slowdown in the economy.

Those who manipulate the U.S. political system and stand to gain from it are much less coy about the matter. As far back as 1949 *Business Week* noted the beneficial effects of military dollars on a slumping economy, and their advantages over "welfare pump priming": "Military spending doesn't really alter the structure of the economy... As far as a businessman is concerned, a munitions order from the government is much like an order from a private customer." In 1954 *U.S. News & World Report* hailed the American H-bomb tests as good for "business... The H-bomb has blown depression thinking out the window."

Just four years ago, to take one more concrete example, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger (now Secretary of Energy in the Carter administration) affirmed that the fiscal year 1974 military

budget had been raised \$2 billion at the last moment to stimulate a sinking domestic economy.

Among economists who are unable to ignore hard realities, the University of Pennsylvania's internationally renowned econometrician Lawrence Klein (a 1976 advisor to candidate Jimmy Carter), calls military spending "a significant factor in the economy. It is a very big component of total national production. It has been a large part of the whole expansion of the American economy since World War II."

The precise role that the Pentagon plays in the economy over the course of the business cycle is more complex. *Business Week* calls defense spending "an acknowledged instrument for priming or cooling the economy. The White House has set it to both tasks in [1974-76], under two administrations." This implies that in a recession the military spending faucet is likely to be opened wider, as it was in 1975; but when fear of inflation becomes the chief domestic policy preoccupation, arms outlays may be whittled down.

But since the cold war broke out in the late 1940s, the only real effort to push military spending down to a permanently lower plateau took place in the second Eisenhower term (1957-1961), as part of the drive by Ike and his cabinet of orthodox financiers to balance the federal budget.

In general, there can be little doubt that military outlays stimulate the economy and create jobs. Klein believes that the military spending "multiplier" is two—that for every dollar the defense

budget is trimmed (or hiked), national output and income will decline (or increase) by two dollars. This is why all of us on the left must be careful not to wage peace, or campaign for slashes in arms spending, by making statements like "military spending creates unemployment."

A study by the 1975 Public Interest Research Group in Michigan entitled *The Empty Pork Barrel* has lent itself to this kind of risky propagandizing. It demonstrates convincingly that military spending has a "negative impact" on some key sectors of the economy (residential and business construction, state and local government projects, and federal purchases of civilian goods and services all seem to get "crowded out" when military expenditures are sharply escalated), and that it drains jobs from the middle west and northeast "snowbelt" states to the "sunbelt" as well.

But declarations to the effect that "a high level of military spending creates unemployment" fly in the face of the work experiences of millions of Americans and can destroy the credibility of the person making them. In the greater Philadelphia area and all over New York State, for instance, shutdowns of military installations and defense plants have thrown thousands of men and women out of work. Try telling them that "military spending creates unemployment"!

We can say with assurance that military spending is a thoroughly inefficient way to spur the economy. Recent data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that, dollar for dollar, arms expenditures produce fewer jobs than any other pub-

lic program (with the possible exception of space exploration, which is not exactly "nonmilitary"). The job-creating potentials of \$1 billion spent on some different types of federal activities are as follows:

NASA (space program), 59,000 jobs; Defense Department, 74,000 jobs; National Institute of Health, 84,000 jobs; Veterans Administration, Health Care, 89,000 jobs; Assistance to State and Local Governments, 100,000 jobs; Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 projects, 137,000 jobs.

These selected measures of the labor-intensiveness of public programs show that job-creating impact is greater where higher proportions of the labor requirements are generated by departments' "expenditures on their own payrolls." For NASA and the Pentagon, job-creation potential is less "largely because of the greater than average reliance...on contractors for services." In other words, the bigger the volume of work contracted out to the private sector, the fewer the jobs. In private firms, where profit maximization is the overriding aim, labor requirements are something to be reduced, and the faster the better.

The military budget is one time-proven way to solve joblessness—but a highly inefficient way. It also tends to worsen the plight of the industrially ailing "snowbelt"—not to mention its hideous social waste and its further buildup of an arsenal already powerful enough to incinerate "enemies" six or ten times over.

Richard B. Du Boff teaches economics at Bryn Mawr College.



PERSPECTIVES

□ FOR A NEW AMERICA □

A left strategy against inflation

By Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux

THE ANTI-INFLATION PROGRAM contained in Jimmy Carter's January economic message is the latest piece of evidence in the political bankruptcy proceedings against Keynesian economics.

As many people now know, and most at least suspect, the modern mixed economy has evolved a growing inflationary bias. Monopolistic markets, resource scarcities, monetary instability, and the cyclical, unbalanced nature of economic growth increasingly produce politically unacceptable levels of inflation long before the economy comes close to full employment.

The administration's proposed solution to this problem is embarrassing. In historical terms, it is neither as intellectually sensible as the Kennedy administration's modest productivity guidelines nor as imaginative as Jerry Ford's WIN button.

First, we have the worn conservative rhetoric that the federal government must be restrained and more incentives given to corporate investors in order to increase industrial capacity. (This despite the fact that federal government outlays for the past decade have been roughly stable at a little over 20 percent of GNP and that American industry is now running at only a little over 80 percent of capacity.)

Secondly, the administration takes another feeble kick at that raggedy old villain, the federal regulation of business. We are told that business regulations that increase prices will be "examined." Given the fierce resistance of most regulated industries to going back to competition—and the numerically tiny price reductions possible from reducing regulation—there is little to hope for here. Indeed, deregulation may well lead to more inflation, as the big fish gobble up the little ones and then raise prices for the rest of us.

Zapping labor.

Clearly, the President's economic advisers had to say something more. Since the President repeats his opposition to wage-price controls at every opportunity, the best they could suggest is a "voluntary" program to reduce the rate of price and wage increase. Companies and workers are urged to keep to the average of the past two years' increases in prices and

wages. When asked for details, administration economists said there was to be nothing formal. No real guidelines. No penalties for ignoring the President's plea. There will not even be a systematic way for management and labor to "volunteer." Government officials will, from time to time, meet with individual firms and workers. The response from the nation's establishment economic journalists ranged from Leonard Silk of the *New York Times* who said the President's plan was "feeble" to Hobart Rowan of the *Washington Post* who called it "meaningless."

As expected, both the AFL-CIO and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce denounced even this bare hint of government intrusion into the "free market" of collective bargaining and price setting. The labor movement, of course, has some reason to be skeptical; when Nixon imposed wage-price guidelines on the economy it was done with the deliberate intention—according to the man who administered them—to "zap" labor.

Inflation poses a basic political dilemma for progressive reformers. To leave prices to the play of market forces is to abandon hope for full employment. On the other hand, wage-price controls, given the influence of business interests on the government, are likely to be operated to organized labor's disadvantage. They most certainly will work to the disadvantage of the majority of American workers who are unorganized.

How then do we begin to develop an approach to inflation—here and now in America in 1978—that leads us out of this political and economic dead end?

The basic necessities.

One way is to recognize that anti-inflation policy must be linked to the specific and immediate concerns of the majority

of working Americans. It is not the abstract increase in the Consumer Price Index that gnaws at the living standards of most Americans—it is the rising price of bread and hamburger, of rents and mortgage interest rates, of dentist bills and heating oil. As the U.S. economy moves further into the era of slow growth and chronic high unemployment rates that will characterize the 1980s, the need to stabilize prices of the basic necessities will be even more critical and have even a greater significance as a political issue.

Defining the basic necessities as food, housing, health care and a basic amount of energy for household use, a recent report of the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives found that these items constitute roughly 70 percent of the consumer expenditures for 80 percent of the American population. Taken together, they have risen almost 50 percent faster over the past half dozen years than all of the other items in the Consumer Price Index. This means that poor and middle income people—who must spend proportionately more of their incomes on the basic necessities—have suffered more from inflation than have the rich.

When we study the causes of inflation in the basic necessities, we find that the culprit most usually accused of causing inflation—labor costs—is simply not guilty. The rapid increases in food and energy prices during the first part of the 1970s was due almost entirely to shortages—both natural and manufactured. And contrary to the general impression, the major factors in increased housing costs have been interest rates and rising land prices—not labor. The same is true in the medical field where labor costs have actually declined as a portion of the total price of health care. This does not mean that labor costs have not contributed at all to price increases. It means they have not been the *major* cause, and therefore a policy that attempts to hold back prices by maintaining an ever growing labor surplus (to reduce wage pressures) is not only morally outrageous—it simply doesn't work. If the administration's anti-inflation policy succeeds in restraining labor costs, millions of American workers and consumers will continue to be uncompensated for bearing the burden of the

huge bite the rising cost of energy, food and other necessities have taken out of their incomes.

Production for need.

If the sources of what has been called the "new" inflation are found in the specific market conditions of each industry, then that is also where the major solutions lie. Stabilizing food prices requires rationalization of agriculture to reduce excess global impact on the U.S. consumer, to eliminate wasteful middleman mark-ups and packaging costs, to stop speculation in commodities, and to promote greater regional self-sufficiency. Reduction in energy inflation requires public control over the industry to allocate energy according to human priorities, to begin a serious effort at direct conservation and to develop renewable energy sources. Housing policy requires a planned shift in capital markets away from the production of luxury high-rises and vacation homes, and towards the provision of decent shelter for every American. It requires the elimination of ruinous speculation in real estate into which much of the nation's precious capital is poured. Reducing health care inflation means the reorganization of the medical industry under decentralized and consumer control.

When we look at inflation this way, some political dimensions emerge. First, we begin to define criteria for the behavior of specific industries, rather than continue to be stuck in the vague and fuzzy levels of national statistical abstractions, which most people have neither the time nor energy to follow. Secondly, the activities of the thousands of community, labor, church and other groups working at specific problems in housing, food, energy and medical care sectors become linked in a common effort to prevent erosion of living standards for the vast majority, opening up opportunities for common political action. Finally, it suggests a possible strategy for taking some concrete steps toward building an economy with its priorities based on production for need rather than for profit.

The inflation issue has traditionally been a conservative rallying point for scapegoating labor and balancing the budget in ways which hurt the poor and working people. Viewed in a new light—with an eye to the basic necessities—it could be a serious point of departure for progressive political-economic strategy.

Understanding the New Inflation: The Importance of the Basic Necessities, by Leslie Ellen Nulty, available from *The Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives*, 2000 P St., NW, Washington, DC, 20036.

Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux are co-directors of the National Center for Economic Alternatives in Washington.

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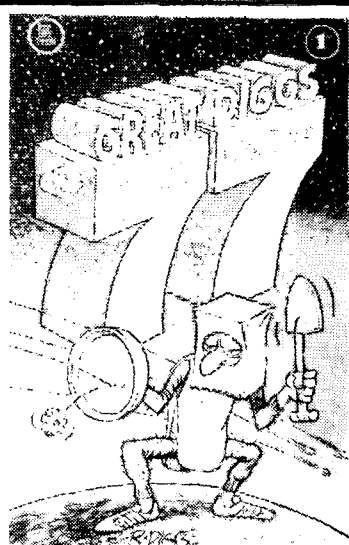
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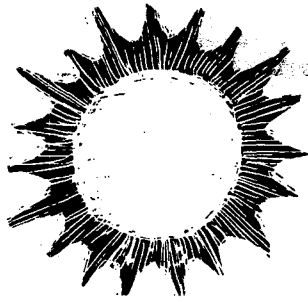
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Sun jobs

Continued from page 8.

mental groups and small businessmen, but the top-level union leaders have been waiting for conclusive evidence that SolarCal would really boost employment.

Tom Hayden and the Campaign for Economic Democracy organization that grew out of his unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic Senate nomination have been major promoters of SolarCal. Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally, Gov. Jerry Brown's energy advisor, Wilson Clark and San Francisco Mayor George Moscone have also endorsed SolarCal. Brown is expected to throw his weight behind it soon.

"It's a very interesting situation in California," Peggy Curran Gardels, energy coordinator of the Policy Center, an in-

dependent research group loosely cooperating with the CED, said. "Brown is posturing against nuclear and is very pro-solar. Because it's an election year and the state faces very interesting energy dilemmas, we think 1978 is a good year to get SolarCal passed."

Only the electric utilities are expected to be active opponents of SolarCal, although they have proven formidable in the past. Although the Policy Center plans to push its full plan (see box), already it appears that legislators may drop the innovative provision allowing the state to start production of solar equipment. "That's the single most widely attacked sentence," Gardels says.

Legislators could also succumb to pressure to eliminate the requirements that loans go first to projects employing union labor. The union labor requirement is considered important since often small businesses, which SolarCal wants to encourage, are non-union, low-wage operations.

A victory for SolarCal would tip California toward other forms of solar power, including photovoltaic cells, wind generators, biomass conversion to produce methane and alcohol, and high-temperature industrial solar techniques. The sun power boom could continue for several decades, leaving a more stable energy economy that is decentralized, diverse and ecologically sound.

Already, Gardels says, SolarCal has "helped to shape the energy debate in California." Its passage could help shape that debate across the country. ■

Solar cells

Continued from page 8.

voltaic prices, Paul Maycock, director of photovoltaics at the Department of Energy, says:

Solar cells are now made from very thin slices of a single, large, pure crystal of silicon—one of the most abundant materials on earth (sand is mainly silicon dioxide). Silicon is now expensive to purify, but there are several good prospects for cheaper ways of producing sufficiently pure crystals or for directly generating thin films of silicon or other suitable materials. In December RCA announced that it had patented solar cells using amorphous, non-crystalline silicon, that they claim would make solar-generated electricity competitive with conventional power by the mid-1980s.

The principal barrier to photovoltaics will be largely institutional, reflecting entrenched financial interests of utilities and banks.

Although expected improvements in storage technology may permit homes to disconnect themselves from the power company, most observers expect that home systems will require some back-up electricity from a utility.

Solar cells will be economical earlier if utility regulatory commissions institute "lifeline" rates or some other form of low charges for the first few hundred kilowatts than if the common "declining block" rate with very high initial charges prevails. Under a declining block structure in Colorado, for example, solar heaters that provided 70 percent of the heating for a home reduced the electricity bill by only 35 percent (and under a utility plan would have reduced it only 15 percent). The rate structure would inhibit adoption of photovoltaics in the same way.

Also, photovoltaics would be attractive faster if utilities were required to buy back excess electricity from home solar cell systems at a reasonable rate. Although the New York Public Service Commission has ruled that Consolidated Edison had to buy back electricity from a wind generator on a Manhattan apartment building, the national pattern has not been established.

Financing problem.

One of the biggest problems concerns financing. Utilities, with their easy access to bonds and other sources of capital, could enter the photovoltaic market and save themselves while thwarting the energy independence of homeowners. The first costs of putting in solar cells will be high, although great economies would be realized over a 20-year life cycle (and probably over an even shorter period). If loans are not readily available at low interest rates, many people will not be able to take advantage of photovoltaics—especially anyone with an average working-class income or less.

Banks have been notoriously reluctant to loan money for home improvements. They prefer loans for large-scale, new construction. They also have a deep financial interest in utilities. Banks will probably prefer to finance photovoltaics through their friends, the utilities, rather than through thousands of individuals.

As a June 1977 study by the Office of Technology Assessment concluded, "Utility companies have access to capital markets not available to an average homeowner. The utilities also are accustomed to operating with high debt-to-equity ratios and large ratios of investment to sales. This kind of financing capability would be required for onsite solar equipment calling for a large initial investment."

Utility control of photovoltaics would slow down their introduction, increase yearly costs to consumers and keep people at the mercy of the utility for the use of the sun. The BDM study, for example, calculated that in a city where photovoltaics would be economical for a home-

owner to install at 50 cents a peak watt, utilities would find solar cells sufficiently profitable only at 32 cents a peak watt.

Utility control could also bias the development of solar electricity towards central generators, even though there is no economy of scale with photovoltaics and the disadvantage of distribution costs. For example, Stan Leonard, director of photovoltaics projects at Aerospace Corporation, assumes that central power stations will have to use solar cells on a large scale in order to have 2 to 3 percent of the nation's energy provided by photovoltaics in the year 2000. His prediction, shared by many in government, is based on a forecast of market penetration prepared by General Electric.

The proposed modest \$98 million federal purchase of photovoltaics could save the federal government as much money as it invests. More important, it will probably trigger a series of developments that will make the long-term Carter energy scenario obsolete through the "creation of industrial capacity for the production of solar devices and the development of structural changes in the overall national energy system that would facilitate the further entry of solar sources," as Barry Commoner told a Federal Trade Commission solar energy symposium in December.

Photovoltaics add the crucial link—electricity production—to the total solar strategy. However, realizing the full potential contribution of solar energy to the construction of a more democratic, stable and just economy will require continued effort to challenge the powers and priorities of the electric utilities and their financial and political allies. ■

Disaster

Continued from page 4.

actors, nuclear spy satellites and nuclear power plants, government scientists throughout the world were able to convince their political leaders that the hazards of low-level radiation exposures were negligible.

The result has been that no research into the effects of small, continued exposures to radiation of the general population was ever funded and carried out by responsible government agencies. Instead, the military and the nuclear bureaucracies in every major nation have successfully diverted attention from the problem of low-level radioactive contamination.

Yet the latest studies of Drs. Thomas Mancuso, Alice Stewart and George Kneale on the effects of very low doses of radiation at the Hanford atomic laboratories, where plutonium was first produced for nuclear weapons, have shown that radiation caused some 20 to 50 times more cancer cases than had been expected. When these investigators made this discovery the government agencies who had originally sponsored it ended the funding and tried to prevent or delay its publication, and finally asked for the original data to be returned by the scientists who had made the unwanted discovery.

Thus, beginning with the very first nuclear detonation at Alamogordo, N.M., in July of 1945 — when the Army announced that the flash and explosion seen for hundreds of square miles was due to an accident at an ammunition dump—nuclear technology has been associated with official secrecy and deception.

Suppression of research into the effects of low-level radiation is one of several items in a current series of hearings before the House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment scheduled to continue through February. Yet even such limited public discussion of civilian nuclear issues stands in stark contrast to the absolute secrecy surrounding military uses of nuclear power—secrecy which leaves us in ignorance even of how many nuclear-powered satellites are orbiting the globe. ■

(© Pacific News Service)

Dr. Ernest J. Sternglass is professor of radiological physics at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, Department of Radiology. He is author of the book *Low Level Radiation*.

What would SolarCal do?

Here are highlights of the SolarCal proposal from the California Public Policy Center:

- Establish a cabinet-level state authority to speed development of the solar industry. Its members will include representatives of labor and environmental groups, a tenant of low-income rental housing, an engineer and a small solar business officer but no employees of utilities or energy monopolies.
- Develop a comprehensive plan for installing solar space and water heating wherever possible.
- Direct loans at 4 percent interest to low and middle-income consumers for buying solar equipment, preferably from California-based firms meeting strict criteria concerning size, independence from large corporations, unioni-

zation, affirmative action hiring, and hiring of the hard-core unemployed.

- Make loans to small businesses (meeting above criteria), cities and other groups rehabilitating low-income public housing, and cities using solar power for municipal needs.

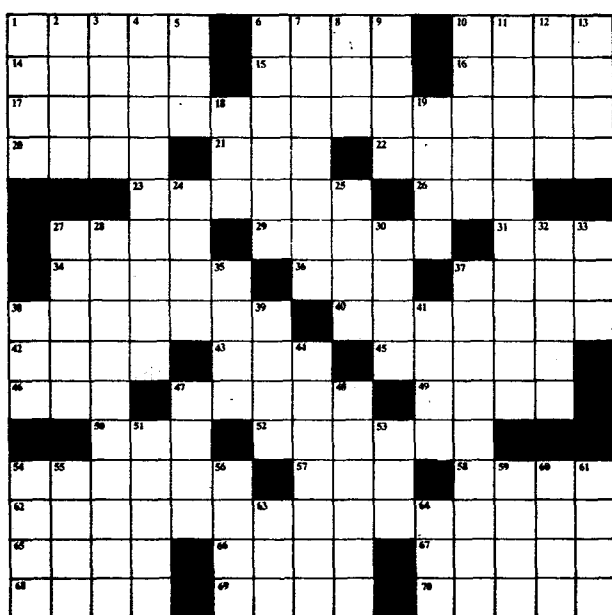
- Begin its own manufacture, distribution and installation of solar systems if SolarCal objectives cannot be met by private enterprise.

- Develop training programs and standards for buildings and solar installations.

- Provide money through bonds, general fund appropriations or a surcharge on utility bills—around \$500 million if SolarCal proponents have their way.

Songs of Resistance

By David Mermelstein



Across:

- 1 Goats
- 6 Dirty books, e.g.
- 10 Eur. nation
- 14 Machine tool
- 15 Bladelike
- 16 Answer of acceptance or understanding
- 17 First words of song (E B E G F-sharp)
- 20 Foxy, in Scot.
- 21 "___ army heroes of the nation..."
- 22 Spanish titles
- 23 Lend an ear
- 26 Gray (as opposed to blue)
- 27 Mil. decorations
- 29 C.O. classification
- 31 Blockhead
- 34 Iranian coins
- 36 Mus. section

Down:

- 37 Barr.
- 38 Easter wear
- 40 Brainier
- 42 What to do on the dotted line
- 43 ___ Miserables
- 45 Relieve
- 46 Golan and Brooklyn: Abbr.
- 47 Strong point
- 49 Fencing implement
- 50 Row
- 52 1588 fleet
- 54 Be a receptacle for
- 57 Ref. work
- 58 Delicacy
- 62 First words of song (A G F D)
- 65 Neural network
- 66 Not up and about
- 67 Salad ingredient
- 68 ___ and Civilization
- 69 Sneakers

70 Greek marketplace

Down:

- 1 Landon and others
- 2 Fertility god
- 3 To be, in Avignon
- 4 Battalion that helped save Madrid, 1936
- 5 Upper house: Abbr.
- 6 S.A. ghetto
- 7 "___ are weeping, their solitary vigils keeping."
- 8 Female giant of Scand. myth
- 9 Nautical chains
- 10 French river
- 11 "From the distance morning comes to greet us, calling ___ once again."
- 12 Very, in Leipzig
- 13 Golfing locales
- 18 Kildare and Spock
- 19 Flying prefix
- 24 ___ of Wight
- 25 Tennis necessities
- 27 Opposite of gauche
- 28 "Not a bird ___ cheer us, oaks are standing gaunt and bare"
- 30 Early Shavian play: ___ and the Man
- 32 Stone slab
- 33 Enemy of Isr.
- 35 Battlefield of '44
- 37 "Up and down the guards ___"
- 38 4 pks.
- 39 Evening, in Naples
- 41 Mimicked
- 44 Scattered
- 47 ___ Speech Movement
- 48 Edits
- 51 "...and into ___ all my lust." (Marvell)
- 53 Newspaper features
- 54 Take on
- 55 Ace
- 56 Neighbor of Neb.
- 59 Exchange premium
- 60 God of thunder
- 61 Sicilian volcano
- 63 Burrows or Beame
- 64 Hawaiian volcano, Mauna

LIFE IN THE U.S.

HISTORY



Lessons from the Populists

**DEMOCRATIC PROMISE: THE
POPULIST MOVEMENT IN AMERICA**

By Lawrence Goodwyn
Oxford University Press, 1975

How does it happen that the language of the populists—"earnest agrarian rebels" from the last century—has gained currency in modern America? In an urbanized, nuclear-rumored, electronically wired age that would seem a universe removed from 19th century rural life, two well known journalists, Jack Newfield and Jeff Greenfield, publish a "new populist manifesto." A former U.S. senator, Fred Harris, runs a "new populist campaign" for the presidency. And a successful presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter, finds it useful to describe himself, with the dissembling smile that has become his trademark, as a "populist."

Lawrence Goodwyn's massive reinterpretation of American populism not only tells a deeply moving story of the populist revolt itself, of the men and women who constructed a "new way of looking at things," it also furnishes us tools to explain the strange resonance between the farmers' movement and the aspirations of millions of people today—making the book a contemporary commentary on modern society.

According to Goodwyn, conventional treatments of populism have focused wrongly on the surface manifestations of the movement—especially the political history of the People's Party in 1896—and have entirely missed the internal life of the farmers' revolt that culminated in the People's Party.

American populism grew directly from the insurgency of farmers in southern and plains states in the late 1880s. Across the belt of agricultural America millions of people found themselves sinking ever deeper into debt as a result of a national monetary system that operated in the interest of bankers. Though the heart of the exploitative system was located in the New York banking community itself, its arterial network of usurious credit pulsed through midwestern marketing outlets and southern "furnishing houses" to reach into every agricultural district in the nation.

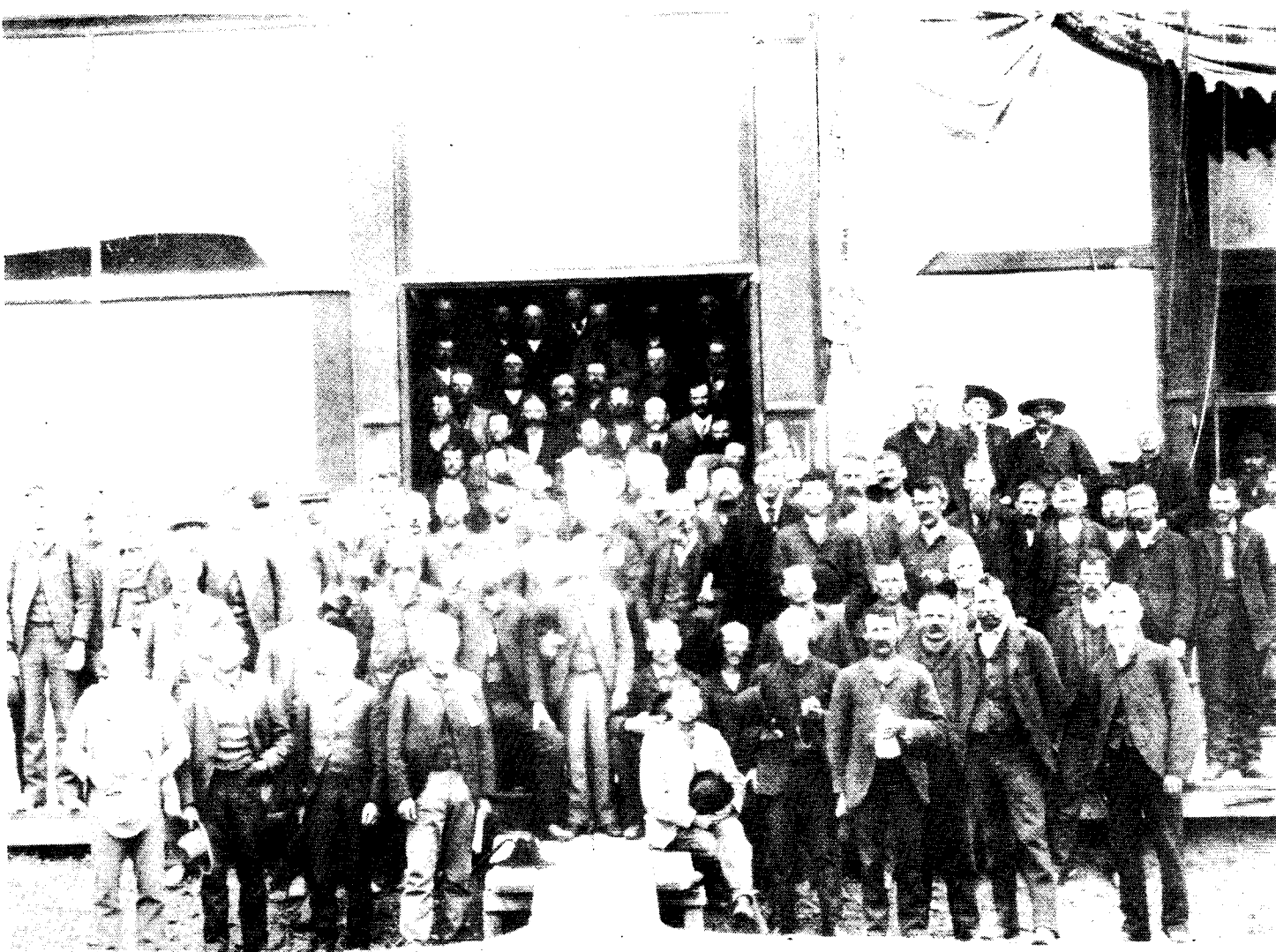
Desperate to retain their land and escape the peonage of tenantry, the nation's farmers devised a new method of cooperatively marketing their crops and purchasing their supplies. They formed the Farmers' Alliances to spread the solution.

Opposition of banks.

The gospel of "large scale cooperation" swept the South and West and caught up millions of farm families in a massive social movement. Supported by their own system of over 1,000 insurgent papers, an enormous internal lecturing circuit and mass, revival-like encampments, the farmers constructed a huge phalanx of cooperatives.

The movement, however, met the implacable opposition of the American banks, whose refusal to extend credit threatened to doom the coops. Radicalized by their experience, the farmers turned in desperation to proposals for basic change in the banking and credit system itself. Finally, when both major parties proved the captives of banking interest, the farmers created the independent "People's Party" to advance their program and began to break by the millions with political custom.

Ultimately, however, their political revolt could not succeed. Though the cooperative movement, rooted in the family farm, generated a new identification with industrial workers among agrarian rebels, the cultural and social chasm proved too great for lasting alliance and



Top, character from a 1873 cartoon exhorting farmers to oppose the railroad corporations. Above, delegates to the 1890 Nebraska state convention of the Populist party.

the new party never attracted a mass following in the northeastern cities. Moreover, to maneuver in the world of national politics required coalitions with many who had not undergone the "educational experience" of the cooperative crusade—free silverites, western rebels and others who proved to be what Goodwyn calls a "shadow movement" that was vulnerable to simplistic slogans, cooptation and manipulation.

And used they were in 1896—by William Jennings Bryan, a Democrat whose rhetoric in favor of "the people" obscured for many the hollowness and superficiality of his proposals. When the People's Party endorsed his candidacy after a bitterly divided convention, the act seemed a mockery to the original farmer base. Across agrarian America reform papers shut down and lecturers packed away their notes. Thoroughly coopted, the agrarian revolt abruptly collapsed.

The decline of freedom.

"This book is about the decline of freedom in America," summarizes Goodwyn. "Populists dissented against the progressive society that was emerging in the 1890s because they thought that the mature corporate state would, unless restructured, erode the democratic principles of America." In concrete terms, runs his argument, as the farmers lost their land they also lost the margin of control that they exercised over their own destinies.

Goodwyn's scholarship establishes a new interpretive framework for understanding American populism. Crucial questions remain that need exploration. For example—as Marxist critics would be quick to point out—terms like "freedom" and "democracy" conceal complex class realities.

What was control over land for middle income farmers in the South in the 1880s more typically meant tenantry or sharecropping for blacks. Even though black and white farmers reached a virtually unique alliance in the movement, the un-

derlying contradictions became abruptly apparent in 1891 when the Farmers' Alliance opposed a strike by laborers for higher wages.

Similarly, the role of women in the movement demands more treatment, as Goodwyn himself points out.

Finally, the relationship between the movement and other dynamics in southern society in the same period requires study.

Similarities with present.

In Goodwyn's treatment of the "democratic promise" that populism represented, one can find materials of use in understanding the present. By "democracy" Goodwyn means more than formal political participation. His usage entails the concept of actual popular participation in determining the affairs of the society, including its economic life.

Through their cooperatives, their proposals for currency reform and their political organization the insurgent farmers sought to check the growing power of a financial and corporate elite that threatened to dominate all phases of American life. It may be this aspect of their struggle that strikes a responsive chord in present-day America.

In an environment of prolonged economic uncertainty, relative economic stagnation and changed international power relations in the 1970s, the issue of "the people" versus "the interests" has again come to the forefront of American politics. Beginning with Nixon, the leaders of corporate America concluded that the demands raised by the movements of the '60s for sexual and racial equality, expanded social services, and environmental and consumer protection pose a grave threat to corporate profit margins.

In reaction, corporate strategists have devised a variety of strategies for limiting popular input into governmental decision-making. Indeed, Carter's cabinet is filled with sophisticated craftsmen of plans for reducing what one adviser terms America's "excessive democracy."

The nation is in a "new phase in a con-

flict as old as the American republic," read one *Business Week* report, "the conflict between a political democracy and a capitalist economy." It is this contemporary crisis that makes the populists relevant for today.

A self-sustaining movement.

Goodwyn's account also helps add a further dimension to our understanding of the meaning of "democratic movement." He looked directly at the internal structure of the movement itself, and discovered features of enduring significance.

"In their institutions of self-help, Populists developed and acted upon a crucial democratic insight," he writes. "To be encouraged to surmount rigid cultural inheritances and to act with autonomy and self-confidence, individual people need the psychological support of other people. The people need to 'see themselves' experimenting in new democratic forms."

Such a definition of "living democracy" hold fascinating parallels to the process of popular self-assertion that Third World liberation movements have self-consciously fostered in the 20th-century. And it is of direct applicability to the interior process of change in modern industrial America as well.

In a world far distant from that of the populists it is nonetheless similarly through the social space created by popular self-organization that ordinary people learn the skills, self-confidence and sense of possibility through which to overcome the intimidation and self-doubt taught by the dominant culture of American society. Indeed, it may be in the neighborhood organizations, citizens groups, cooperatives, labor reform battles and equal rights struggles of the "new populism" that living democracy can be found in the 1970s and the foundations for a democratic culture once again constructed.

Harry Boyte is a writer/activist in Minnesota. An earlier version of this article appeared in *Southern Exposure*.

The Richards issue settled on its merits

February's Virginia Slims tournament in Chicago drew record crowds and record press and TV coverage, at least part of which was due to the "controversial" appearance of Dr. Renee Richards, who played tennis three years ago on a less professional level as Richard Raskind.

Kerry Melville Reid, against whom Richards was matched in the draw, had walked off the court at their last meeting in a Phoenix tournament when she was trailing 7-5, 4-1.

The huge Chicago Amphitheater (scene of the 1968 Democratic National Convention) was nearly half full—unusual for a mid-day, first round match. Most, if not all, were there to stare at the woman who used to be a man and to witness what they expected to be another public humiliation of the transsexual.

What they got was one of the most exciting matches of the week. Richards is a peculiar-looking player, ungainly in movement, unorthodox in style, but talented, experienced and totally committed to the game. Her advantages of height (6'1") and muscular strength are balanced by her age (43). Her court manners are flawless and her gamesmanship is as good as anyone's.

Realizing that walking off the court again would put her out of the running



Kerry Melville Reid explaining why she felt at an unfair disadvantage playing Dr. Renee Richards (right) whom she has just beaten at the Chicago Virginia Slims tournament.

for the Slims finals, Reid had decided to play the match out and win if she could, which she did in the last two points of a three-set match with two sudden death tie-breakers (4-6, 7-6, 7-6).

When it was over and Reid offered her hand to the loser, Richards had won the adherence of an audible segment of the audience and acceptance from most of the press. There are still suits and peti-

tions pending, most of them by young players who feel themselves at an unfair disadvantage in the qualifying Avon Futures tournaments. But the steam seems to have gone out of the campaign to bar Richards from match play.

What has been proved by all the brouhaha is that there are many ways of calculating advantage in athletic contests. While a player six feet tall with wide shoul-

ders has an edge over a player much shorter with less of a reach, sex is not the magic difference, and age can cancel a lot of other qualifications.

Richards has also demonstrated what she apparently undertook to: that a transsexual is not a Loch Ness monster and that acceptance of all sorts of differences is not only possible, but good for the accepters.

—Janet Stevenson

Broadcast

Continued from page 24.

meeting passed without Cleaver and when the time for his press conference came, not Cleaver but another NRB executive, Ben Armstrong, and the publisher of Word Books in Waco Texas showed up.

Talking like a couple of Pentagon flacks explaining away a protective reaction strike, they advised reluctantly that brother Cleaver had abruptly gone home to California, after a night of intensive soul-searching and discussion. Of course, they soothed, nothing had really happened.

"Eldridge is at a point of heavy introspection and consideration about the direction he's going to go," said Armstrong. "And we think that is best done privately." The reporters weren't really taken in by this blather, but the Hilton was not Vietnam and they did not pursue the matter aggressively. Besides, there was other quarry to stalk in the hotel that day—Malcolm Muggeridge.

Saint Mug.

Anita Bryant was a spectacle, Flynt and Colson mainly curiosities, and the substance of the conclave, under the religious gloss, thoroughly and tediously commercial; but "St. Mug," as the *Washington Post* dubbed Muggeridge, now here was a religious broadcaster with some class.

Besides having been a journalist himself for half a century, Muggeridge was endlessly quotable. Everytime he was scheduled to appear the place was packed, and unbaptized correspondents from the secular press laughed as heartily at his elegant witticisms as did the hardest core Christians.

"St. Mug's" message was essentially a simple one. "What we are saying here is that most of what the media are occupied with, including and even particularly in their so-called news reports, is for the most part fantasy."

To illustrate, he admitted that "If I'd been a journalist in Jerusalem when Christ was crucified, I'd have been hanging around Herod's palace, sniffing out what he was up to, or checking out the Sanhedrin and what they were up to. I wouldn't even have noticed the other; and that's the fundamental absurdity of the media, that by their nature they can't see the things that really matter."

He noted that in his career he had seen the British Empire, Nazism, Stalinism and American hegemony all stand at the world's center stage, but, "All, in one little lifetime, gone with the wind."

Then he asked, "Can this really be, as the media so assiduously insist, what life is about? This worldwide soap-opera going on from century to century, from era to era, whose old discarded sets and props litter the earth? Surely not," he insisted. "If this were all, then the cynics, the hedonists, the suicides are right; the most we can hope for from life is amusement, gratification of our senses and death."

Now Muggeridge's arguments, good-humored as they were, represent the religious challenge to the world at its strongest, because they point straight at the continuing folly and vanity of human striving and ask insistently, as he did, "Is this all?" And the disarming humility of his stance as a journalist no better than the rest, not to mention the urbanity and sophistication of his presentation, won him a respectful, even admiring hearing from the listening reporters and the adulation of the card-carrying and name-tagged Christians.

What the dotting delegates may not have noticed, though, was that like all the best preaching, St. Mug's portrait of the media as peddlers of useless or even pernicious fantasies applied with special trenchancy to the pretensions of the faithful.

When Jesus went after the money-changers at the temple, the atmosphere could hardly have been more vulgarly commercial than that in the Hilton during the NRB gathering. If Muggeridge's insistence that the mass media are all but incapable of seeing and broadcasting the things that really matter is true, then this implies that the Christianity the convention was designed to help mass-merchandise bears little relation to whatever truth its founder may have stumbled onto.

Confirmation of these doubts came out just as the conference was breaking up. A respected research group in California issued the results of its analysis of two of the biggest mass evangelism campaigns in recent American history; the group found that the campaigns, while they claimed millions of "decisions for Christ," produced almost no new church members.

No matter. Fundamentalist broadcasting, whatever the pagans may say about it, is at least big business. Delegates stumbled over each other in their rush to sell books, records, movies, audio cassettes, videotapes, advertising, missions to the Jews and patriotic crusades. Whether this had more to do with planting the Good Seed or harvesting an ever better crop of cash was hard for an outsider to distinguish. But like The Man said, they reap what they sow.

Chuck Fager is a free-lance writer in Washington.

Wit' a Brooklyn Accent

By Mark Naison

THE U.S. TENNIS ASSOCIATION'S shift on the South Africa question, which I announced in this column last summer, has turned out to be a charade.

Although the Association formally suggested that South Africa withdraw from the Davis Cup until it reformed its racial policies, it is still fielding a team to play South Africa in the 1978 Cup Matches.

From March 17 to 19 Vanderbilt University in Nashville will play host to the competition between the two countries, with the complete endorsement of the USTA.

ACCESS (The American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society) is asking opponents of apartheid to send letters to the President of the USTA (P.O. Box 1057, Jackson, Miss. 39205), the president of Vanderbilt University, and President Carter and UN ambassador Young protesting the presence on American soil of a team selected on a racially discriminating basis.

Should this mail campaign fail to yield results, there will be demonstrations in Nashville at the site of the matches. People who wish to participate in these demonstrations or help with fundraising and publicity, should contact Dr. Richard Lapchick, Virginia Wesleyan College, Norfolk, Va. 23502 for further details.

Lou Holtz of Arkansas was recently selected as college football coach of the year for leading the Razorbacks to a 10 and 1 season and a victory over Oklahoma in the Orange Bowl. At the same time, according to lawyers for three black players suspended from the team shortly before the Orange Bowl, only one of 25 black athletes who have used up their athletic eligibility at Arkansas in the years since the school "desegregated" its sports programs has actually earned a college degree! (*Fort Worth Star Telegram*, Dec. 28, 1977.)

NCAA official, now allegedly on the lookout for recruiting violations, might do well to take a closer look at athletic scholarships to see if universities are keeping their part of the bargain and are providing athletes with an education.

If Arkansas is an indication, the "scholarship" is an illusion at many big-time schools, and it would be more fair to everyone if these institutions sponsored salary paying farm teams for the pros rather than selling poor kids a dream and putting them back out on the street with nothing to show for their effort.

The rivalry between Bjorn Borg and Jimmy Connors has turned into one of the most exciting in all of sports. During January the two played televised matches, one won by Connors, the other by Borg, which for drama, tension and sustained virtuosity of shotmaking surpassed even their struggle in the finals of Wimbledon.

The electricity surrounding the matches, for tennis fans at least, resembled that generated by the Frazier/Ali fights of the early '70s.

Here too, the contrast of personalities and styles added to the chemistry of the contest. Borg/Connors, like Ali/Frazier, displays in classic form the meeting of the slugger and the counter puncher, the extrovert and the stoic, matching wit and will in a setting where neither can establish clear dominance.

The clash of personalities polarized the audience into rival camps, and their vocal partisanship (once unheard of in tennis) helped inspired the players to breathtaking levels of play. There were sequences in both matches in which ten shots in a row were hit that would have been winners in most professional matches, but were returned at an even faster pace than they were hit.

The ebb and flow of emotion, as the momentum shifted between the players, left the audience in both matches emotionally drained. Since both Connors and Borg have a history of coming from behind to win, the tension in their contests lasts till the final point.

It's just about the best entertainment TV sports has to offer, matched only by the World Series, the NBA playoffs and an occasional college basketball and football game. The only prize fight I've seen to equal it, since the days when Ali was in his prime, was the recent battle between Roberto Duran and Esteban DeJesus, two great champions in the lightweight division.

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

Records



LOVE TRANSFUSION
Rockets
(Tortoise International)
EXPECT NO MERCY
Nazareth
(A&M)

The media glamorize the stardom of rock, and when a new name appears on the charts, history takes a back seat. It's easy to forget that Bob Seger worked the Midwest to the bone before he scored with "Night Moves" last year, or that Fleetwood Mac went through a host of personnel and musical changes before it went multiple platinum.

The Rockets and Nazareth are journeyman bands. The Rockets are from Detroit, and their two main forces, drummer Johnny "Bee" Badanjek and guitarist Jim McCarty, have years of experience behind them. Badanjek is a rock paragon whose precise drive powered the Detroit Wheels and one of the great rock albums, *Detroit*, a 1972 release that apparently signaled a blazing end to Mitch Ryder's career. McCarty was also in the Wheels, and played in the Buddy Miles Express and Cactus.

Nazareth over the past six years has perfected a hard-edged, humorous and rocking sound sparked by the skirl of Manny Charlton's guitar and Dan McCafferty's cutting, whisky voice.

The Rockets debut is urban industrial blues, a celebration of working, loving and partying. Dave Gilbert's voice is fragile and powerful; Marc Marciano plays piano *a la* Jerry Lee Lewis; and guitarists McCarty, Dennis Robbins and bassist John Fraga swirl bluesrock extraordinaire over Badanjek.

Badanjek's "She's a Pretty One" mixes Motown and rockabilly into a fast love song that's moving, graceful and solid. McCarty's "I Got To Move," does just that. The album is great car music; lots of Motor City pickup, no Motor City breakdown.

The new Nazareth disc is full of screamers, and has two covers: a rock version of "Busted," a blues popularized by Ray Charles; and "Gone Dead Train," a pile-driver first sung by Randy Newman in the rock film *Performance*.

McCafferty sings with his usual guts and conviction and Charlton (also the producer), plays even better guitar. Although not as good as *Close Enough for Rock'n'Roll* (their best album), this shows the band's integrity and power, and a new tenderness in "Shot Me Down" and "All the King's Horses."

Bands like these deserve respect for their work and dedication. A lot of rock is like fast food; there's real meat here.

—Carlo Wolff
Carlo Wolff is the editor of the Vermont Vanguard.

OOPS! WRONG PLANET
Utopia
(Bearsville)

Almost anyone familiar with the rock market is acquainted with the most acclaimed member of the band Utopia, Todd Rundgren.

He remains the group's stand-out composer on their third disc entitled *Oops! Wrong Planet*. With vocal efforts involving all four Utopians that vary from soothing to frantic (each appropriate in its place) and instrumental arrangements that are equally in step, the album is not so pleasing to the ear that its message is lost. (Stated as "the message" on the inner sleeve is the advice "Use your head, use your heart, save yourself.")

Perhaps Rundgren isn't consciously political, but the direction of his agitation becomes clear soon enough. Opening with "Trapped," a diatribe against apathy, Todd and bassist Kasim Sulton belt out:

...And if you don't have the stomach
For all this radical crap
Then have the guts to stand for something
Or you're gonna be trapped.
Trapped in a world you never made.

Other topics broached are consumerism and its "Rape of the Young," the environment, the alienation of capitalist production, and that shopworn idea that people should get together. Typical is the lament from "Back on the Street":

I can't stand the strain of this job no more
I must have forgotten what I took it on for
I make lots of money, yet still I want more
And my head is blazing...
I think that I'll check out the shops downtown
Sometimes it helps to buy things when I feel brought down...

"Love in Action" firmly establishes Rundgren as at least a fellow traveler, as in:

You've joined the Klan
Your head's full of sand
You need a bunch of friends to make you feel like a man...
...You can't stop love in action.
These compositions don't strive

for profundity, but they do generate a spirit that would make the earth an easy place to organize; they are utopian.

There is nothing better for the band's largely adolescent following to hear nowadays. It's the type of music that brings to mind the early work of Frank Zappa, albeit less flip. Older rock fans should come off the high horses of their impending middle age and enjoy both the sound and the content of this. —Bob Datz
Bob Datz is a freelance journalist based in Florida.

LIVE/ENCORE
Tangerine Dream
(Virgin Records)

Tangerine Dream (along with another German band, Kraftwerk) has done much of the groundbreaking work for a musical genre most easily identified with space or techno rock.

The three-man group (Edgar Froese, Chris Franke and Peter Baumann) occupy a stage littered with instruments that give it the aspect of a moon launch, rather than listening to ethereal sounds. Musical/electronic devices like the Arp, Mellotron, string synthesizer, vocoder and digital sequencers dominate the group's musical aesthetic, allowing them to traverse popular, modern and avant garde traditions in their search for contemporary sound.

The Dream is influenced by Stockhausen, and their music interprets the electric-jet age that is coming to dominate our present as well as our future. It eschews the human voice and rarely relies on non-electronic instrument for sounds, rhythms and melodies that take on strange moon-like feelings. Tangerine Dream pays respect to the new electronic age as it is opposed to the old, obsolete mechanical one, with music that is calm, reflective and a celebration of the ability of humans to produce beauty from the concept of the machine.

This live recording shows that the group maintains strict control over their work, but cannot explain their drive for the creation of a synesthetic experience. Their stage shows include the spectacular use of laser light. Electronic sounds form with electrically generated light to produce aural/visual experiences. This is late night music, and it is interesting to explore how Tangerine Dream interprets it all.

—Joe Heumann
Joe Heumann reviews records and films regularly.

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BOOKS

The New Deal dealt them in

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND THE CITY BOSSES

By Lyle W. Dorsett
Kennikat Press, 1977
\$8.95 (hardcover, \$4.95 (paper)

In this engaging study Lyle Dorsett examines the relationships between Franklin D. Roosevelt and seven big city politicians of the New Deal era: Boston's James Michael Curley, Memphis' Ed Crump, New York City's Ed Flynn and Fiorello LaGuardia, Chicago's Edward J. Kelly, and Jersey City's Frank ("I am The Law") Hague.

When he launched the project, the author's primary concern was to establish the fact that contrary to novelist Edwin O'Connor's thesis in *The Last Hurrah* "the New Deal did not destroy the bosses and machines." Although this theme remains central to the book, he fastens his attention on the nature of the relationships that FDR established with each of the seven bosses.

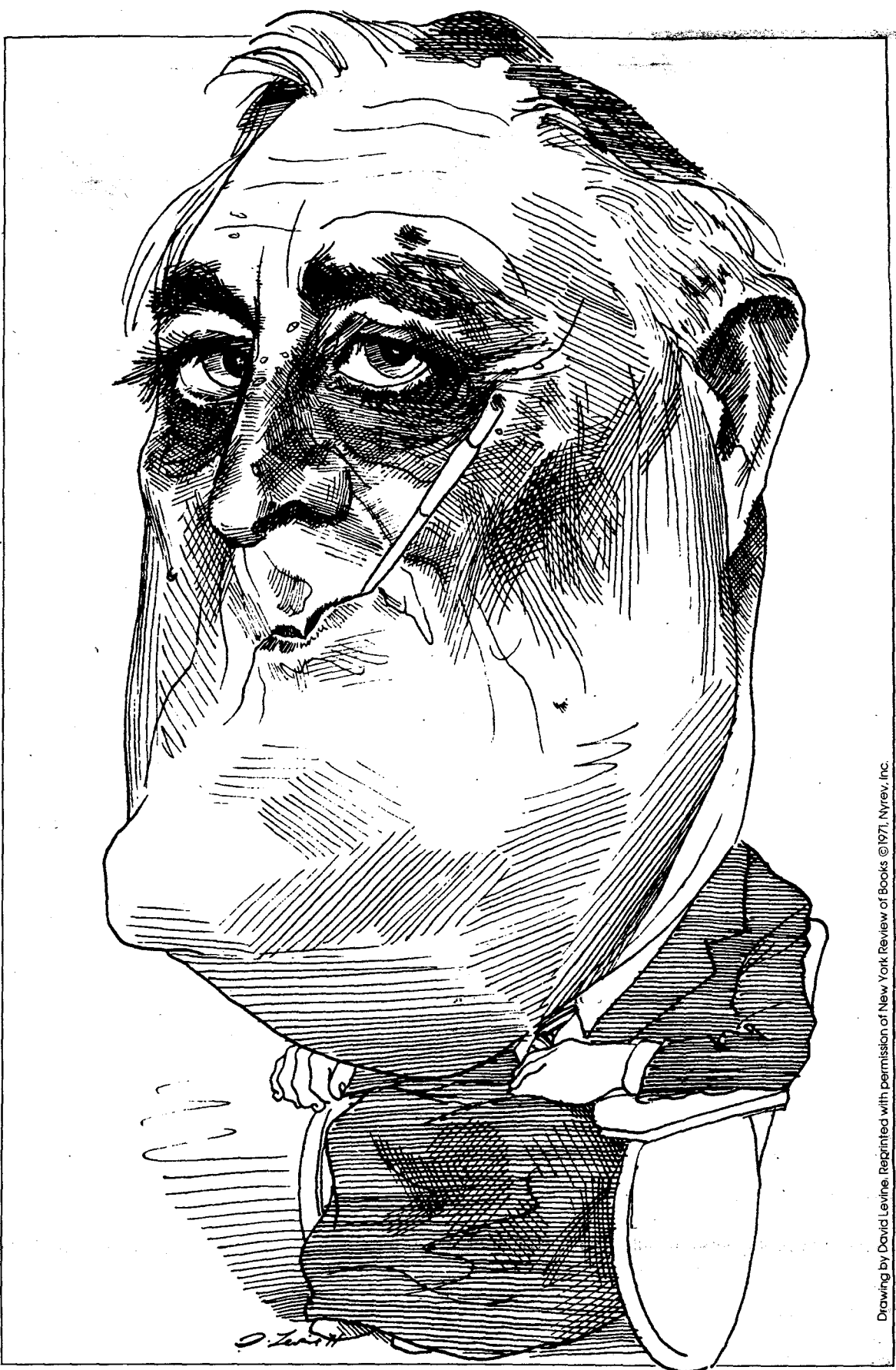
They fall into two categories. There were the men Roosevelt personally despised but nonetheless accommodated, and those with whom he had amiable dealings. In the former group were Curley, Crump, Pendergast and Hague; in the latter LaGuardia, Kelly and Flynn. Dorsett notes that FDR proved capable of using friends no less than enemies to serve his political needs at any given moment and could be negligent in bestowing rewards for past favors. He reminds us that it was Eleanor Roosevelt who consoled Flynn after the fiasco of his putative nomination to a wartime diplomatic post, while the President said as little as possible about the incident. Dorsett concludes from Eleanor's letter that she possessed "deeper feelings of personal loyalty than her husband." Some friend, but then, as we also know, some husband!

It has been said that FDR had a two-pronged policy for the na-

tion's cities: satisfying the bosses where possible (because they produced those bountiful electoral majorities) while simultaneously initiating a reform design, premised on the notion of metropolitan regionalism. Dating at least back to his first inaugural, he appeared taken by the prospect of decentralizing inner-city slum dwellers and hence recasting the very structure of urban society. Unenlightened bosses like Curley, Crump, Pendergast and Hague blocked this strategy.

To counteract such opposition FDR toyed with the idea of interjecting independent Democrats—articulate local liberals committed to implementation of the New Deal—into the political leadership of several cities. Such agents would function within the Democratic party to wrest control of its apparatus from the tradition-bound bosses. If not a daring move to the left, the plan at least had the potential to move beyond the first square in the direction of metropolitan regionalism. Yet Roosevelt's abiding concern was neither refurbishing urban politics nor reshaping the cities. It was, rather, the electoral yields produced by the existing Democratic organizations.

James A. Farley, who served his President loyally during the first two terms, told Dorsett in a 1966 interview that at one juncture he broached to FDR the possibility of prosecuting Frank Hague for tampering with the mail of his enemies. (Known as "The Hudson County Hitler" for his harassment of CIO organizers as well as Norman Thomas, Hague had come to regard Jersey City and Hudson County as his own personal fiefdom, hence the appellation "I am The Law.") But Roosevelt, swallowing his intense dislike for Mayor Hague, instructed Farley to "forget prosecution...tell Frank to knock it off... But keep this thing quiet because we need Hague's support if we want New Jersey."



Drawing by David Levine. Reprinted with permission of New York Review of Books ©1971, Nrvb, Inc.

Two other figures no longer considered indispensable—Pendergast and Curley—subsequently landed in prison on federal convictions. In Curley's case the author faults Roosevelt, claiming that "there was not one piece of concrete evidence" to support the conviction.

This book provides a lesson on Roosevelt who, like him or not, remains central to our understanding of American political

culture 45 years after his first term began. Much that the author has to say about the fact that some bosses and some reformers are "bad" and others "good" is old hat. Moreover, much of the evidence he has drawn upon is widely known to readers of memoirs written by New Deal figures. But Dorsett deserves credit for developing the analysis conveniently, if too narrowly. What is missing is a sys-

tematic effort to place the urban political policies of FDR into the theoretical perspective. Dorsett appears to be satisfied to expose the clay feet of the apostle of Democratic liberalism. He also had an opportunity to analyze Roosevelt's designs for whatever ideological dimension they possessed.

—Michael H. Ebner

Michael Ebner teaches social and political history at Lake Forest College.

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SEATTLE—In These Times Associates is sponsoring a forum on "Directions and Priorities of the Women's Movement" Thursday, Feb. 16, First Baptist Church, Harvard and Seneca, 7:30 pm. Speakers: Michell Celarier, Union WAGE; Ti-Grace Atkinson, author of "Amazon Odyssey;" Rita Shaw, Socialist Workers Party. Admission by donation.

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CAPITAL DISTRICT ITT will sponsor a forum on "Carter's Budget and Arms Reduction" Wed., Feb. 22, 8 pm, Friends' Meeting House, 727 Madison Ave., Albany, NY. Speakers: Rick Hind, who is opposing Sam Stratton in the Democratic primary to represent the 28th Congressional District, and Kieran Donaghy, local activist in the peace conversion movement. Free, refreshments.

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THE SOCIALIST TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY—a talk by Martin J. Sklar, associate editor, In These Times. Tues., March 7, 8:45 pm, Montgomery Auditorium, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL. The public is invited, admission free.

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FILM

A major studio film on the war that still isn't

THE BOYS IN COMPANY C

Directed by Sidney Furie
With Stan Shaw, Andrew Stevens,
James Cannings, Michael
Lembeck, Craig Wasson, Scott
Hylands, James Whitmore Jr.
and Noble Willingham
Columbia Pictures, Rated R

To a large extent, Vietnam was always the war that wasn't. Here, our reason for being there was never really explained by "the best and the brightest." There, Americans tried to fight "Charlie," about whose culture they knew nothing and whose face they almost never actually saw. Today, the war still *isn't*, having been largely repressed in the national consciousness.

The Boys in Company C, the first major studio film on the war, follows a motley cross-section of Marine draftees from the dehumanizing basic training at Camp Pendleton, where they're called "shit," "maggots," and "vomit," through a whole series of comic, futile and lethal encounters (culminating with the January 1968 Tet Offensive) in Vietnam.

Except for Tyrone (Stan Shaw), a street-wise, hardened and gutsy black, the five protagonists are all white innocents abroad. They include Billy Ray (Andre Stevens), a "white cracker jock," Vinnie (Michael Lembeck), an over-sexed, happy-go-lucky kid from Brooklyn, and Dave (Craig Wasson), who looks like Jesus Christ and is a conscientious objector. The film's episodes are narrated by Alvin (James Canning), a budding writer who is keeping a journal of life in Company C. Among the company's officers are the avuncular Lt. Archer (James Whitmore Jr.), the red-neck Sgt. Curry (Noble Willingham) and the inevitable Capt. Collins who, when not hysterically barking orders, is obsessed with having his men achieve record "body counts."

If the characters are somewhat stereotypical, director Furie (*The Ipcress File*, *Little Fauss and Big Halsey*, *Gable and Lombard*) still

manages to pull off an entertaining yet unsettling film thanks to a brisk pace that juxtaposes drama and black comedy *a la M.A.S.H.*

You don't come away from *Company C* with your political consciousness raised very much. It only touches on the extent of the destruction America wreaked on the people and the land, and on the corruption of Thieu and his followers. But certain scenes and episodes "stick." For example, suspecting that a village harbors Vietcong, Captain Collins orders it shelled into oblivion. When the men enter the smoking remains, they find mainly old people, cowering and dazed. Collins still demands the "body count" which, after a pregnant pause, is reported as "two chickens and a duck."

In the film's final episode, the Company C soccer team (the "Muthuhs") is promised exemption from field duty if it will throw a match to the South Viet Security Police Dragons in order to build inter-allied morale. In what is an obvious metaphor for the war's prolongation, the boys can't bring themselves to do it, preferring "winning" to "living." It hardly matters, as the soccer stadium is hit by a barrage of mortar fire—part of the Tet Offensive.

Before the credits come on, we're informed that of the 110 men in the actual company C, 41 were killed, 51 injured, and two are still missing-in-action. With all its sardonic vignettes, *The Boys in Company C* leaves a bitter aftertaste. It makes you wonder how America—especially the men who fought in Vietnam—put up with the whole fraudulent, cursed thing for so long. Capturing the grotesque farce of Vietnam—the chasm between Marine macho rhetoric at Pendleton and the fear, racism and futile dying in Vietnam—*Company C* makes you realize why we've rushed to forget about the war.

—David M. Szonyi
David M. Szonyi reviews films and books regularly for IN THESE TIMES.



Three members of Company C: Andre Stevens as "a white cracker jock"; Stan Shaw as "A street-wise, hardened and gutsy black"; and Michael Lembeck as "an over-sexed, happy-go-lucky kid from Brooklyn."

A people's-eye-view of the revolution

VIVA PORTUGAL

English version produced by
Marc N. Weiss for Infoscope
80 minutes, color, 16mm

Gil Scott-Heron says that the revolution won't be televised. But seeing *Viva Portugal* makes you wonder.

Three German TV film-makers went to Portugal shortly after the coup that overthrew the Caetano regime in April 1974 and spent the next year recording the unfolding events there. The result is a moving documentary of the efforts of the Portuguese people to regain control of their society after 50 years of fascism.

Dramatic scenes abound. Relatives greet political prisoners

freed from Caxias prison, notorious for its underground dungeons that fill with water at high tide. Transport union members refuse to carry right-wing demonstrators to Lisbon for a possible counter-coup, and leftist soldiers search incoming cars for weapons. Former leaders of the PIDE (the fascist secret police) are taken to jail in their own van.

Viva Portugal does not focus on leaders vying for power. The film's strength is its ability to capture the spirit of everyday people engaged in becoming actors in history for the first time. Peasants who have seized an absentee landlord's estate are seen meeting in a windmill to discuss setting up a cooperative to farm



their land. Bank workers explain how they have labored at copying records proving that the bank has illegally channeled funds to right-wing organizations.

In an extraordinary sequence, the camera follows a paratrooper assault aimed at neutralizing the barracks of RAL 1, sometimes known as the Red Regiment. Two paratroopers crouch against barrack walls as a RAL 1 soldier explains that they don't understand what's happening.

Mike in hand, a TV reporter stands by as the contending forces negotiate over whether they are to shoot at each other. The rank and file come to realize they've been misled by their superiors and end up running to embrace their comrades in the barracks.

The film does not analyze how

Soares was able to gain control of the government or why many of the moves toward more popular control have been reversed. But it shows political change as the sum of a multitude of small, practical decisions, and a human activity, one subject to twists and turns.

For example, villagers are shown debating whether it was right to occupy a rich family's mansion to house a medical clinic. "Won't the owner be angry?" wonders someone. "But he's never here," comes the reply. "Shouldn't he have at least been talked to," demands another. A woman who apologizes for being illiterate sums up the popular view of the situation: "I can't say anything about big political decisions...But one thing I know—the house has got to be ours!"

Viva Portugal has been shown widely in Europe, both on TV and to live audiences. New York film-maker Marc Weiss saw the original German version at the 1975 Mannheim Festival, where it won first prize of the International Film Critics Association. He has produced an edited version in English, using the voices of a theater group from Antioch College. The decision to use voice-overs rather than subtitles was a wise one, for it preserves the sense of real-life drama essential to this people's-eye view of politics.

—Doug Honig
The film can be obtained through the *Viva Portugal* Project, 140 Waverly Place—6C, New York, New York 10014.

Doug Honig writes for the *Northwest Passage* in Seattle.

Born again media

What with Anita Bryant, Chuck Colson, Eldridge Cleaver and Larry Flynt all making appearances, the National Religious Broadcasters were awash with controversy.

RIGHT FROM THE START, THE folks who put together the 35th Annual National Religious Broadcasters Convention wanted everyone to know where they stood. So they opened both their first evening session and their keynote plenary here with concerts by Anita Bryant.

Sure enough, people got the message. Several thousand of them, in fact, understood it well enough to want to hand-deliver their reply. They did, ringing the Washington Hilton while Bryant sang *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. One of them managed to get inside the Hilton's International Ballroom and made a long story short, shouting "Anita you're a fascist!" until he was dragged out (Bryant's reply: "I love you too.")

If anything, though, the noisy but orderly demonstration outside their citadel strengthened the strong sense of righteousness that pervaded Bryant's audience and the convention itself.

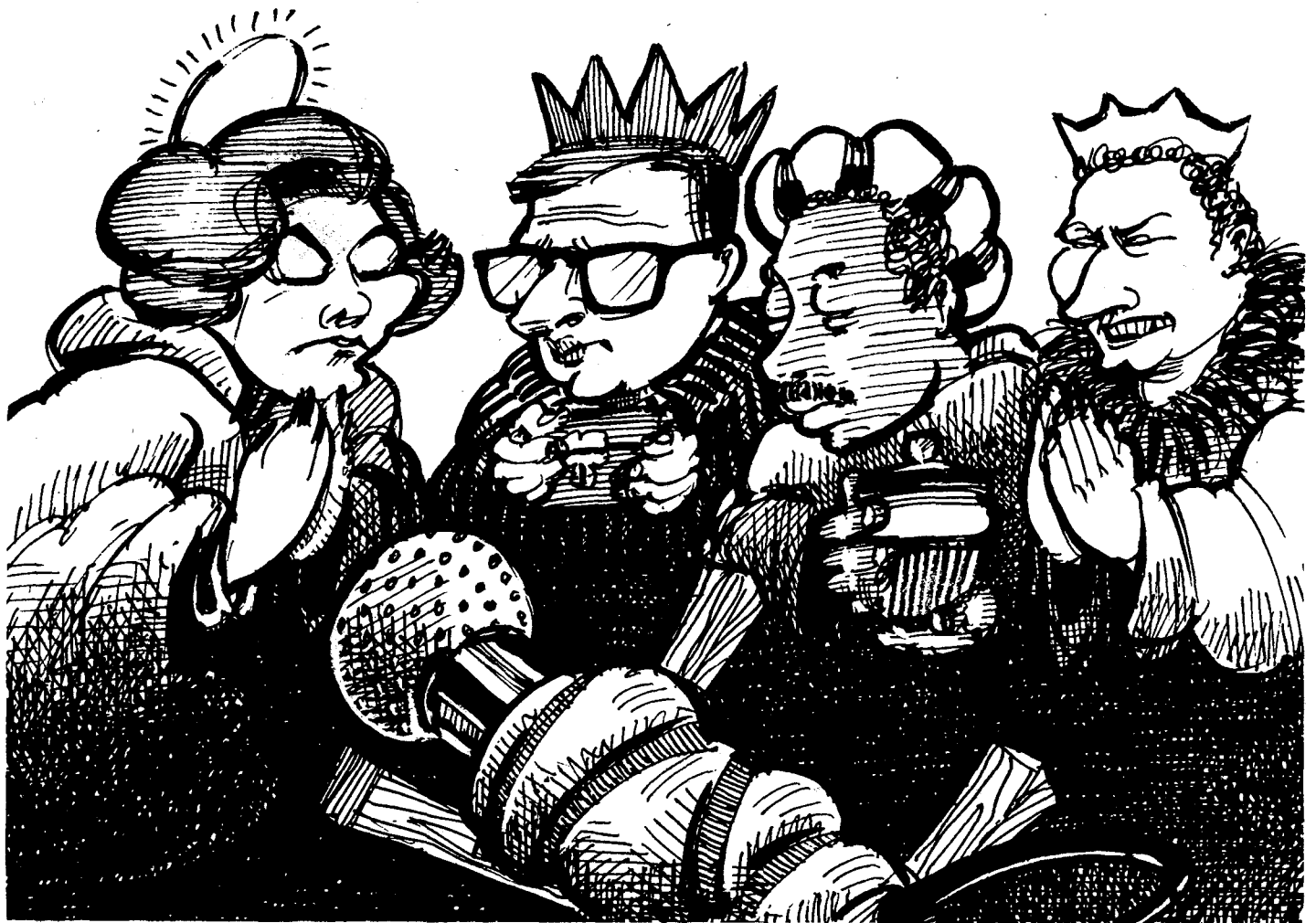
"It's so wonderful, what you're doing," NRB spokesman Bill Bray told Bryant as he introduced her to a press conference in which the questions focused, predictably, on gay rights and Bryant obliged with a reprise of her Miami campaign rhetoric: homosexuals are not "a legitimate minority group." The broadcasters ate it up.

Anita Bryant's set piece confrontation with the marching forces of Satan, however, proved to be one of the easier battles for the conference organizers to fight, since practically all the delegates in attendance agreed that homosexuality, along with other plagues such as Communism, the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion, and doubts about the complete infallibility of the Bible, were well outside the limits of their understanding of religion.

Theological and political right.

The NRB's constituency—a rapidly growing one—is made up of the rightward ends of both the theological and political spectrums, and like other such constituencies it is more vulnerable to inner division than outward assault. Thus the NRB heavies found it tougher to decide what to do with two of their own most notorious recent recruits, Larry Flynt and Eldridge Cleaver.

Larry Flynt, as everyone must know by now, had a vision of Jesus last November under the tender influence of President Carter's evangelist sister and is now reportedly busily planning the transformation of *Hustler* magazine from the most famous lay gynecological publication go-



ing into a wholesome Christian sex education journal.

A what? Well, wait til the April issue comes out and find out for yourself what that means.

And if it sounds confusing to you and me, Flynt's reported schemes for spreading the gospel were downright incredible to some NRB executives. They had built their whole convention program around organizing an assault on sex and violence in the mass media. To them, apparently, Larry Flynt was still a convicted pornographer, a purveyor of scratch and sniff centerfolds. His conversion, some suspected, might have been nothing more than the latest in a long string of shrewd publicity stunts.

Flynt's coming, though, had been announced to the world in a preconvention press release. His role was unspecified, but Flynt later said he had been promised a slot on the big Sex and Violence in the Media panel, the former at least being a topic on which he could speak with some experience.

But it was not to be. The panel was held without him.

One NRBer quotes Flynt as having told a Washington church audience the previous Sunday that he preferred whorehouses to churches on Sunday mornings because "the whorehouses are more integrated."

That tore it. Flynt managed to talk to the press in a Hilton hallway, and commented that "I get the impression from the church people and evangelicals that they think I want a piece of their pie. I don't want to make religion my business." Then he drove to the airport, climbed into his pink jet, and split.

Eldridge and his pants.

No sooner was Flynt gone, though, than the NRBers were faced with another flap, this time over Eldridge Cleaver's pants. This one was particularly embarrassing because, second only to Charles Colson, with whom he frequently appears at big-time revivals, Cleaver has been regarded as among the biggest fish captured by the

evangelicals' missionary nets in the last several years.

Colson had put in a cameo appearance the first night of the convention, introducing a movie about his post-conversion work with prisoners. Cleaver was much more heavily scheduled—he was to introduce the world premiere of a movie called *The Eldridge Cleaver Story*, join a breakfast panel discussing "Evangelicals in Search of an Identity," and then conduct a press conference, which promised to draw a crowd of intrigued and skeptical reporters.

The hitch came over rumors that Cleaver was going to make use of one of these forums to promote a line of men's pants that he had designed. The pants reportedly are distinguished for their use of a codpiece, a flap over the genitals.

This feature, or even the suggestion of it, many in authority at the NRB found sexy, shocking and insufferable. And they wasted no time: reporters and others who showed up Tuesday evening for Cleaver's movie, anxious to follow the chronicle of his pilgrimage from prison to Panthers to preacher, were confronted instead with a widescreen color videotape of a Billy Graham Christmas special, highlighted by Johnny Cash's telling of a mawkish fable about a bunch of drunks in the Old West being redeemed by the presence of a baby in their midst.

Inquiries about the Cleaver film to NRB president Abe van der Puy provoked a tight-lipped response: "We've made a change and that's all I've got to say."

The following morning's breakfast

Continued on page 20.

BY CHUCK FAGER

ILLUSTRATION BY
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